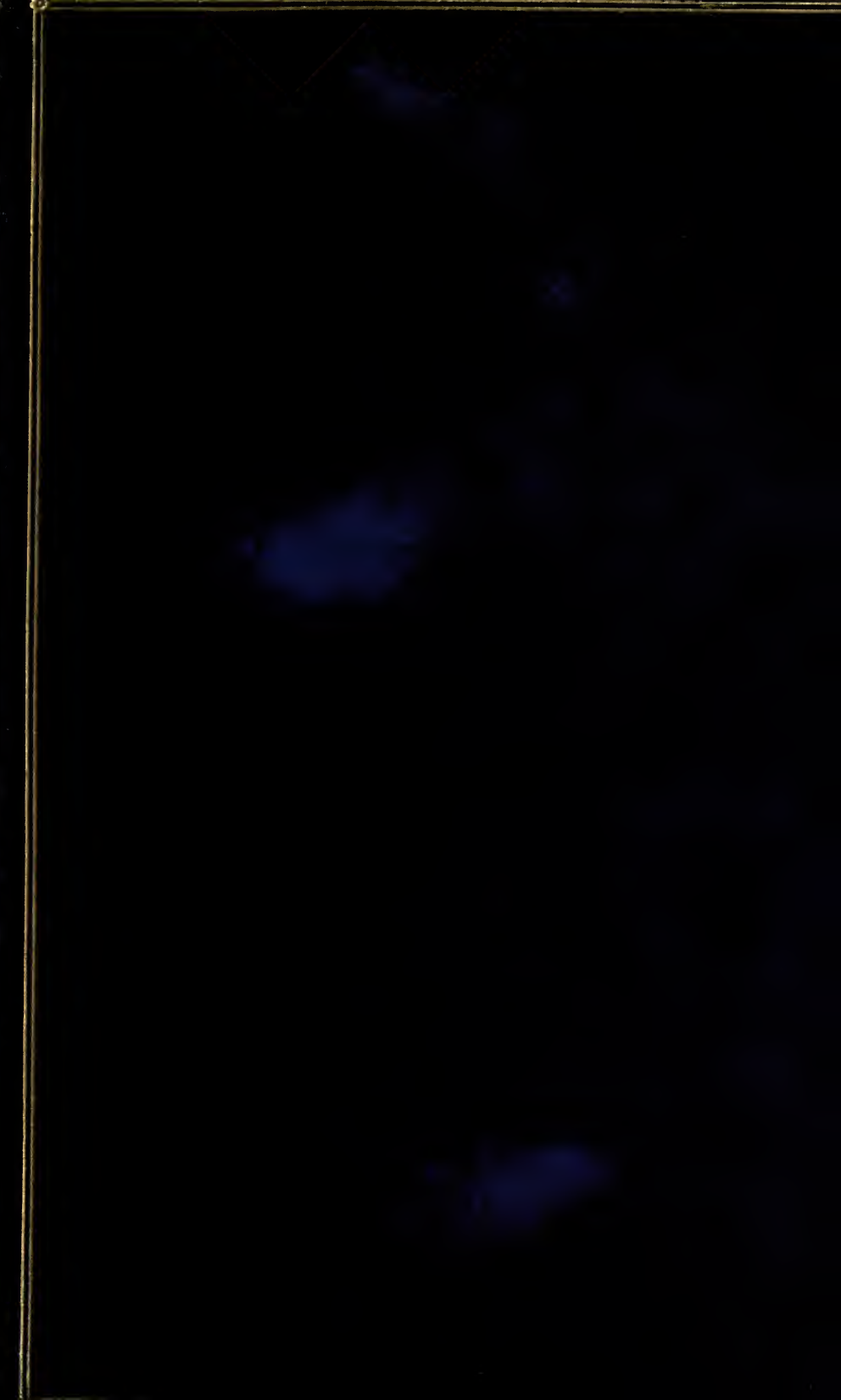
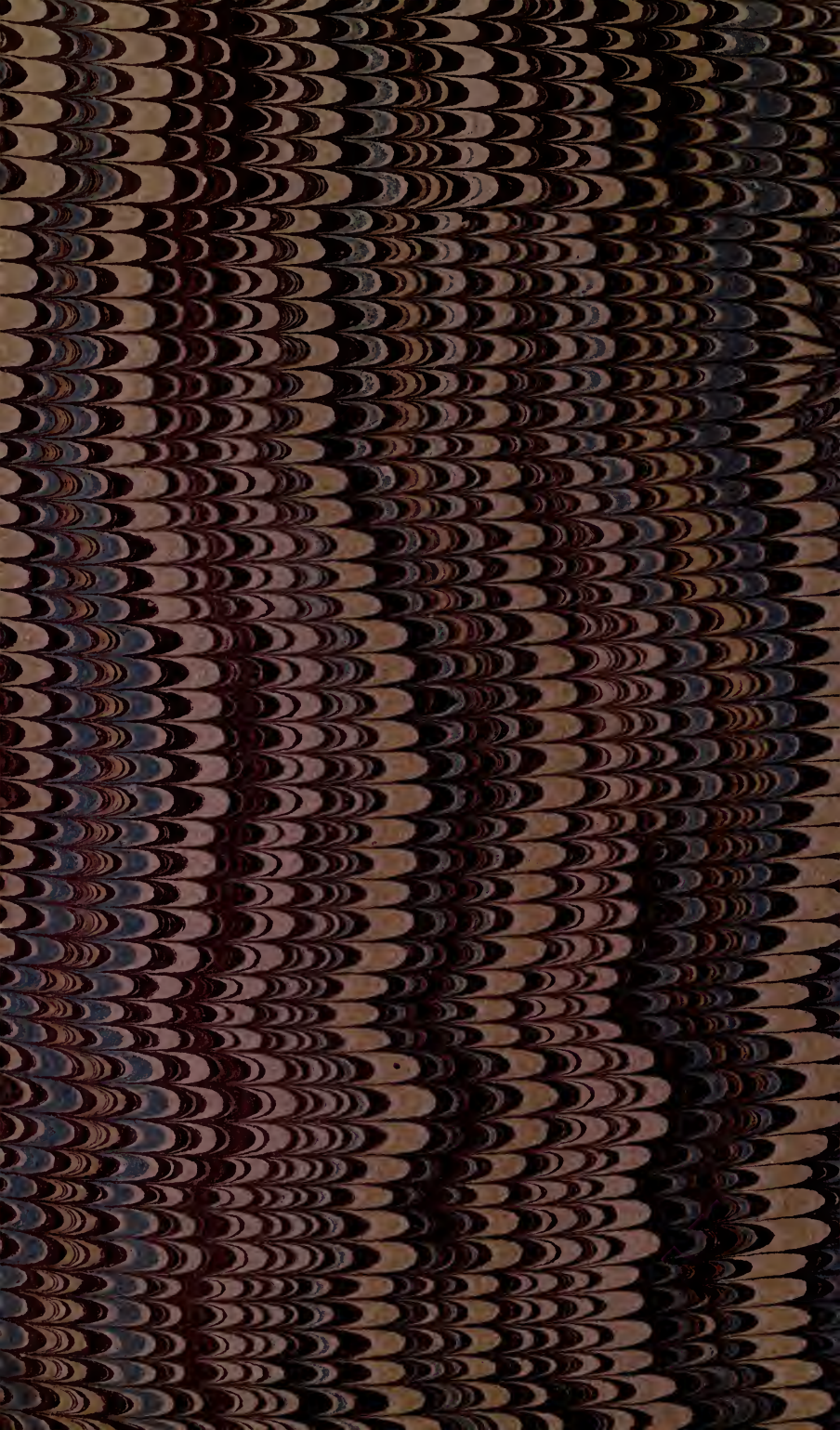
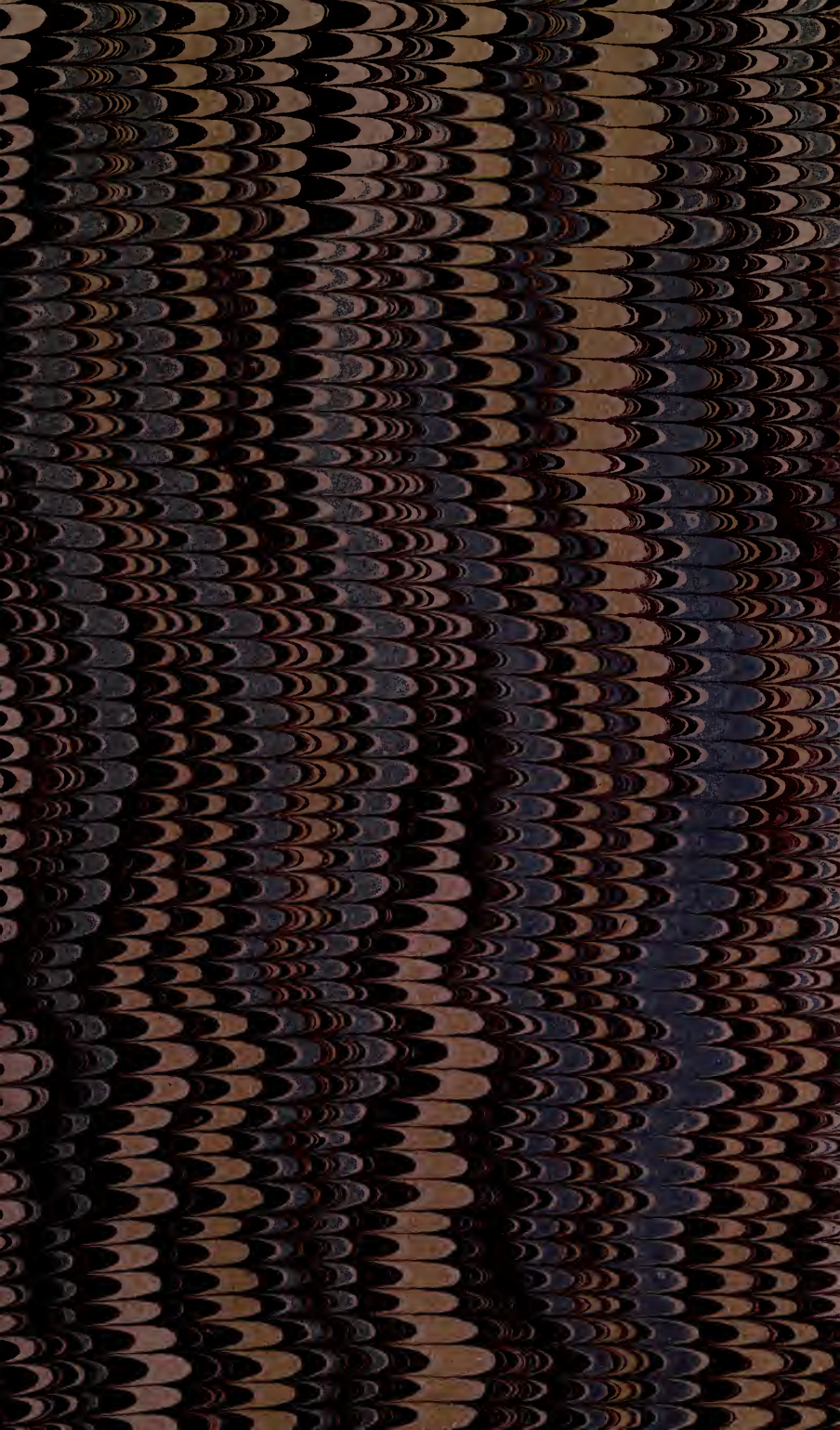
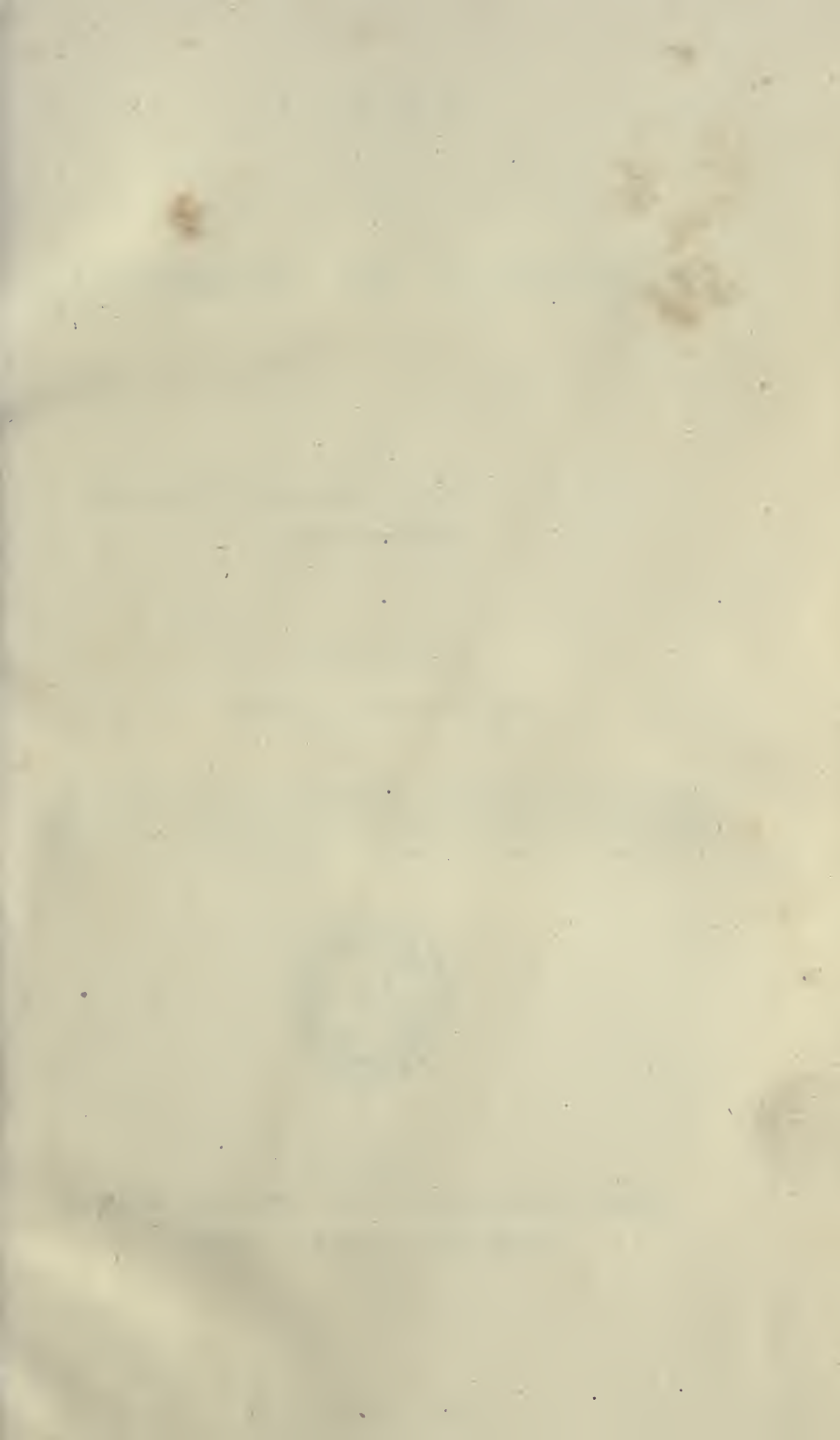










LIVES

OF THE

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

BY
WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D. F.R.S.
DEAN OF CHICHESTER.

VOLUME VIII.
REFORMATION PERIOD.

History which may be called just and perfect history is of three kinds, according to the object which it propoundeth or pretendeth to represent; for it either representeth a time, or a person, or an action. The first we call Chronicles, the second Lives, and the third Narratives or Relations. Of these, although Chronicles be the most complete and absolute kind of history, and hath most estimation and glory, yet Lives excelleth in profit and use, and Narratives or Relations in verity or sincerity. LORD BACON.



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1869.

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ARCHBISHOPS AND CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

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Reginald Pole . . .	1556	Nic. York Edm. London . . . Thom. Ely Rich. Worcester . John Lincoln . . . Maur. Rochester . Thom. St. Asaph .	1556	1558	Mary.

T A B L E
OF
CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

A.D.	England.	Scotland.	Germany.	France.	Pope.	Spain.
1556	Mary .	Mary .	Charles V.	Henry II.	Paul IV.	Philip II.
1558	. .	. .	Ferdinand I.	. .	. .	. .

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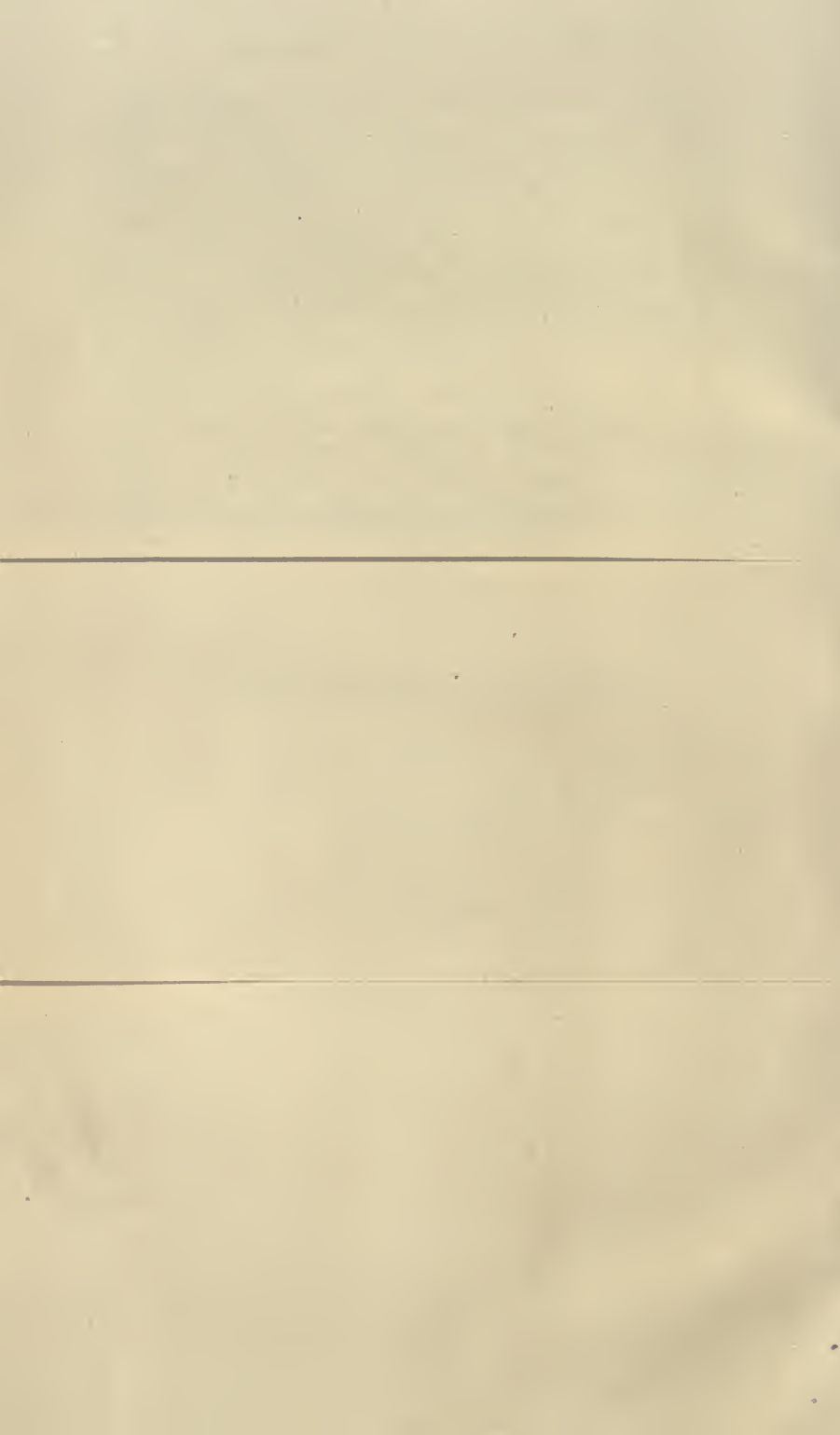
OF THE

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

Errata.

Page vi. line 9	}	<i>for 1855 read 1555.</i>
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secute his studies.—Employed to obtain the opinion of the University of Paris in regard to the divorce.—Returns to Sheen.—Is offered the archbishopric of York.—Argues with the king respecting the divorce.—Leaves England for Avignon.—Jacobo Sadoletto.—Pole goes to Italy.—Gianpietro Caraffa.—Luigi Priuli.—Marco of Padua.—Gaspar Contarini.—Vittoria Colonna.—Cardinal Morone.—Marco Antonio Flaminio.—Pietro Carnesecchi.—Pole conspires against Henry VIII.—Ordered to return to England.—The ‘De Unitate.’—The Bishop of Durham’s reply.—Paul III.—Pole invited to Rome.—Created a cardinal.—Receives a remonstrance from England.—Appointed legate to the Low Countries.—His reception in Paris.—



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BOOK IV.—*continued.*

CHAPTER IV.

REGINALD POLE.

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FEW PERSONS have surpassed Reginald Pole in the number of advocates they have possessed, zealous to record their merits, or of adversaries eager to depreciate their virtues.

Authorities.—With the period of history treated of in this chapter everyone is familiar, but from the circumstances mentioned in the text, a careful perusal of the writings of Pole himself has been necessary. The

When in literature *ex parte* statements are made with ability on both sides of the question, the business of a judge, in pronouncing an equitable and impartial judgment, becomes comparatively easy; and the biographer of Reginald Pole has, on this account, less difficulty than might at first have been anticipated, in reconciling contradictory assertions; while at the same time he can form a fair estimate of Pole's character from a detection of his besetting sin which a slight attention to his correspondence, as throwing light upon his conduct, will enable him to make.

The master passion to which Reginald Pole succumbed was his abhorrence and detestation of Henry VIII. We are not adverting here to the grounds of

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reference to his writings is frequent by writers on either side, but it is necessary to consult the original, not only to be certain "when a quotation is made," that it has been fairly and without abridgment transcribed, but because an inference from an admitted statement may require to be modified from the context. As regards the history of Pole in relation to public affairs, besides referring to the historians of the period, I have been able to elucidate the subject through the various State Papers which have lately been brought to light, and through the valuable report upon the documents and public libraries of Venice by Mr. Duffus Hardy, who has kindly assisted me also in reference to the Simancas papers. The basis of the private history must always be Beccatelli. This work was originally written in Italian. I have used the Latin translation: *Vita Reginaldi Poli S.R.E. Cardinalis, et Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi; Italice conscripta a Luodovico Bacatello, Latine redita ab Andrea Dudithio Episcopo Tininiensi. Juxta exemplar Venetiis excusum. A.D. mdlxiii. Published in London in 1690.* For convenience I have used this neatly printed duodecimo in preference to the Life in quarto prefixed to the Letters. The writer is insultingly ignorant of English history and of the English Church. The real mine, however, as has been just said, from which an acquaintance with the life and character of Pole is to be drawn is his correspondence published by Quirini. Pole had credit among his contemporaries for wit, but this does not appear in his letters. They show

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this hatred; we merely mention the fact, that, instead of combating his malignant passions, Pole encouraged them; and, as has been the case with better men than Pole, before and since, he mistook malignity for zeal; impatient for revenge, he supposed that he was animated by a desire to do God service. This is, in many professors of godliness, their last infirmity. The sensual passions must be kept in subjection by every Christian, except a hypocrite; but how many there are who, in the fury of their orthodoxy, forget that zeal without love is not a heavenly grace, but a human—it may be a diabolical—passion! We appeal to the fires of Smithfield and the modern religious press—so called—in proof of the assertion.

what he wished to appear rather than what he really was. They are, therefore, as heavy and rhetorical as Erasmus's letters are light and sprightly. We read Erasmus's letters with delight, we read those of Pole only as a duty. The preliminary discourses prefixed to each volume of Pole's letters are very valuable, but they are clumsily put together, and are not history, but only documents providing the materials for history. There are two works which throw light on his intellectual history which may here be mentioned: *Libri Duo D. Reginaldi Poli primus De Concilio alter De Reformatione Angliæ*. The authors who may be referred to as each holding a brief for or against Pole are Phillips, Ridley, Neve, and Pye. Phillips is described by Hallam as "able and artful;" but even the amount of qualified praise here given would have been withheld if Hallam had been acquainted with Quirini. Phillips has simply translated and re-arranged Quirini, adding scarcely anything original, except such controversial remarks as would not occur to the mind of an Italian treating of English affairs. Upon the subject of the Reformation in Italy, in which Pole was concerned, much light has been thrown by Dr. McCrie. Much light also is incidentally thrown on some historical statements by Machyn's Diary, from which copious extracts, not always accurate, were made by Strype. See also the Grey Friars' Chronicles and John Elder's Letters. Besides the ordinary writers, Foxe, Wood, Burnet, and Strype, I have consulted Du Pin, Sleidan, and Father Paul, with Ranke and the various other authorities given in the foot-notes.

It is by bearing this fact in mind, and by remembering that Pole was unconscious of the evil that was in him, that we are to account for the many and sometimes the astonishing inconsistencies that perplexed his career. No one can peruse the writings of Pole without perceiving, that the whole tendency of his moral and intellectual character was towards Protestantism; but through his hostility to Henry he became a Papist. Having committed himself to the papal cause, his enthusiastic temperament hurried him into an excess, against which his better self waged war; and yet, while sacrificing much for the pope, he was not popular at Rome, for his ideal of the papacy was known to be not in harmony with the corrupt reality.

In judging of the character, and in seeking to account for the conduct of Pole in the various scenes of his eventful life, we must take into consideration the peculiar circumstances of his family. It is difficult, indeed, with our modern notions, to realize to our minds the social position of the Pole family; the royalty of which was sometimes ignored, sometimes admitted, and always feared by the Tudors. Margaret, the mother of Reginald, was the daughter of George, Duke of Clarence—

False, fleeting, perjured Clarence—

with whose character we are familiar in the pages of Shakespeare. She was the niece of Edward IV., and she was first cousin of Elizabeth, the consort of Henry VII., who, as the constitution now stands, should have been queen regnant. She was as nearly related to the crown as is the Duke of Cambridge at the present time.* Her

* She is sometimes called The Lady Margaret, but chiefly, I believe, by modern writers. Her name and title in history is Margaret Countess of Salisbury; to have called herself, before her restitution to the privileges of her maternal family, The Lady Margaret would have been to

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unfortunate brother, the Earl of Warwick, had been attainted and beheaded, because he might at any time have appeared, from his nearness to the crown, as a pretender. It was, indeed, on the ground of his being a pretender that he was executed. The family thus received a significant warning, and Margaret was content, at the royal command, to give her hand to a courtier whom she probably regarded at first as a mere Welsh adventurer. Nevertheless, she became deeply attached to Richard Pole; and she listened probably with complacency, when he produced a long pedigree to prove, that he had descended from Cadwallader, the last of the British kings.* The last of their respective races, they were ambitious of founding a new family; and well would it have been for that family, if the wife and children of Sir Richard Pole had moderated their ambition and followed his example.

Sir Richard Pole, de la Pole, or Pool,† claimed to be a distant cousin, indeed, of Henry Earl of Richmond, after-

assume a royal distinction. I have seen it stated that the eldest daughter of the king was called the Princess, or, as we now say, the Princess Royal; the other ladies of the royal family were simply called The Lady, not the Princess; they were addressed as Your Highness's Grace. In the privy purse expenses of Henry VII. I find her called "my lady Pole," or "Margaret de la Pole," and sometimes merely "Margaret Pole." 99, 121, 132. There is an entry in 1505: "To Master cofferer upon a bill for Margaret de la Pole clothing and Mistress Ann her wages at Ester last passed a bill of parcels £12 0s. 6d."

* The pedigree is preserved in the Harleian MSS. 1412, fol. i. labelled the "Visitation of Oxfordshire, 1574."

† I find the name, in the lax orthography of the period, written thus variously. The "De la Pole" looks as if he claimed to belong to the noble house of Suffolk. Richard's son Geoffrey and two of his grandsons wrote the name Pool on their prison wall in 1562-64. In Clark's list of the Knights of the Garter Sir Richard himself is called Poole. This, at all events, shows how the name was pronounced.

wards King Henry VII. He followed the fortunes of the earl in his exile, and was rewarded for his loyalty, when his chief placed the crown on his own head on Bosworth field. Richard Pole was immediately appointed an esquire of the royal body guard, with an annuity of fifty marks. He was, in the first year of Henry's reign, made governor of Harlech Castle, and sheriff of Merionethshire. On the accession of Henry, the unfortunate Earl of Warwick was removed from Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire, the prison assigned him by his uncle Richard III., and was placed in the Tower of London. The administration of the estates belonging to the earldoms of Warwick and Salisbury devolved, it would seem, upon his brother-in-law Sir Richard Pole. Sir Richard had certainly a princely income, for in the year 1497, during the war with Scotland, he was retained to serve the king with five demi-lances and two hundred archers, and before the end of the year with six hundred men-at-arms, three score demi-lances, and five hundred and forty bows and bills. The maternal property having been administered by her husband, facilities were afforded to Margaret when, in 1513, she petitioned for a restitution of her family honours. She was at that time in high favour at Henry VIII.'s court, and on the 14th of October she was restored to the title of Countess of Salisbury. At the same time she obtained letters patent establishing her in the castles, manors, and lands of Richard, late Earl of Salisbury, her grandfather, which had fallen to the crown by the attainder of Edward Earl of Warwick, her brother.*

* Margaret's mother was Isabel Nevil, eldest daughter and afterwards heir of Richard, Earl of Warwick, "the setter up and putter down of kings." The earldom of Salisbury merged into that of Warwick through Alice, the mother of the king-maker and daughter and heir of Thomas Montacute, the last Earl of Salisbury of that family.

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It was the misfortune of Reginald that he lost his father when he was yet a child; for everything one hears of Sir Richard tends to confirm the character which has been given of him,—that of “a valiant and highly-accomplished gentleman.” He died when Reginald was five years old;* and the family, which had been increasing in wealth and honour till that time, became henceforth, down to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, involved in troubles.

During Sir Richard’s life they lived in retirement—except when called to court—at Lordington, in the county of Sussex.†

Here I think it probable, that Reginald was born, although, in the absence of registers, the fact cannot be positively asserted.‡ Upon the date of his birth, how-

* I give this as the time of Sir Richard’s death, because I find the following entry in the privy purse expenses of Henry VII.: “To my Lord Herbert in lone by his bille for burying of Sir Richard Pole, 40*l*.”—Nov. 1504.

† Lordington is a manor in the parish of Racton, a few miles distant from Chichester. It is certain that in the fifteenth century the property belonged to the Pole family, but how or when it passed into their hands I have not been able to discover. Lordington House still exists, and the antiquary discovers in various places the cognizances of the Tudors. I observe it as a proof of Sir Richard’s caution or loyalty, that he was too wise to bring forward the Plantagenet pretences. There is a brief account of Lordington in Dallaway; but all that can be gathered on the subject of its history has been given by the learned rector, the Rev. F. H. Arnold, M.A., in a paper prepared for the Sussex Archaeological Collections. Mr. Arnold accepts the tradition that Sir Richard Pole resided there, and he adduces satisfactory evidence to the fact.

‡ There is considerable difference of opinion as to the birthplace of Pole. By Camden and Leland he is said to have been born at Stourton or Stoverton in Staffordshire, and for this conjecture there is this to be said, that Stoverton Castle was at one time the property of the Earls of Warwick. See Camden’s *Britannia*, Staffordshire 581 c. ed. Holland. It is remarkable that Gibson in his edition of Camden omits this statement without assigning a reason for so doing. Dallaway assumes that the

ever, there is no controversy ; it is admitted, that he was born in the year 1500, and according to Beccatelli, who probably heard of it from Pole himself, in the month of March. Reginald Pole had three brothers and two sisters. Reginald was probably the youngest of the sons ; and if there be truth in the story, that Queen Katharine expressed her hope, that Reginald might become the future husband of her daughter Mary, afterwards Queen of England, we may regard this as confirmatory evidence of the generally received opinion. Between the age of Mary and that of Reginald there was a difference of sixteen years ; and when there was such

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*See the Athenaeum, 8 Aug. 1874.
p. 177, col. 3.*

birthplace was Lordington, but without giving authority or reason. I have this to add in confirmation of his conjecture. The parish adjoining Racton, to which the manor of Lordington belongs, is Stoughton ; and it would seem that, besides Racton, Warblington and other parishes near belonged to the Poles. The name of Stoughton having been suggested to Camden, his mind might easily pass from the Stoughton in Sussex to the better known Stourton or Stoughton in Staffordshire. Beccatelli, in his first edition, gives London as the birthplace of Pole, but he omits the statement in his second edition.

* Dugdale, Camden, and the greater number of authorities, represent Reginald as the youngest son of Sir Richard. Godwin speaks of him as the second son, but gives no authority, and is clearly wrong. I should not have noticed the subject if I had not found among the State Papers a letter from Sir John Masone, a contemporary, who says : " I had an interview with Geoffrey Pole, the cardinal's younger brother." We can, however, hardly consider Sir John Masone as an authority on such a subject in a despatch, in which the Poles are only incidentally mentioned. He was not giving an account of the Pole family ; and by " younger " he may merely have meant to distinguish Geoffrey from the other brothers of the cardinal. Tytler (i. 313) speaks of Geoffrey as the youngest of the Pole family ; but evidently on the authority of

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The story is that Queen Katharine was shocked by the discovery of her having been the innocent cause of the Earl of Warwick's death. Her father, Ferdinand of Spain—if we may judge from his correspondence preserved among the State Papers—felt very doubtful as to the continuance of the Tudor dynasty. It was, indeed, long before he addressed Henry VII. in the usual style of sovereigns in their correspondence with one another, by the title of brother. So insecure did he regard the Tudor dynasty, that on the death of Henry VII. he fully expected his son's succession to be disputed; and he offered to support him with a Spanish army. Though the right of the son of Elizabeth of York to the throne of his ancestors would not at the present time be doubted, yet the succession through the female line was not then necessarily recognised; and Henry VII. was himself chiefly indebted to his own good sword and to the vote of parliament for his crown. Ferdinand, therefore, would not sanction the marriage of his daughter to the Prince of Wales, while such a formidable pretender as the Earl of Warwick was in existence. The Earl of Warwick, therefore, died; and the Infanta of Spain was betrothed to Prince Arthur and was married to Henry VIII.

Queen Katharine endeavoured to repair the injury and to avert the Divine wrath, by conferring favours upon the Earl of Warwick's sister and her family. She was heard to express a hope, more than once, that by a marriage between one of the Poles and her daughter Mary, the crown might ultimately devolve upon the representatives of the Duke of Clarence in conjunction with the reigning family.

I see no reason to discredit this story, provided it be

this letter of Masone only. I believe that the order is Henry Lord Montague, Arthur, Geoffrey, Reginald.

not taken for more than it is worth. We know how such wishes are often expressed among friends; and it only means that the person expressing the wish, without taking any steps to procure its fulfilment, would be rather pleased than otherwise if, in the chapter of accidents, such an event should be found written by the hand of fate. It certainly did not prevent Katharine from entering into other matrimonial speculations with reference to the Princess Mary. The queen became gradually aware of the precarious position of her child, and wished above all things, to secure for her a powerful protector. Her ambitious hopes were, at one time, excited, and she anticipated with pleasure a possible marriage between her daughter and the emperor her nephew. This would have been the greatest match in Europe. To other proposals for the settlement of Mary she lent a willing ear; but it does not follow that, when she was talking over the subject of her daughter's future life with her dear friend the Countess of Salisbury, she might not have mentioned a marriage with one of the countess's sons as an event which would give her, if it ever came to pass, intense satisfaction.

Notwithstanding the disparity between Mary and Reginald in point of age,* such a marriage was regarded as possible by Pole himself; and to this circumstance we may trace some of the inconsistencies of his career. It is to be remarked that even when he was created a cardinal, Pole declined being ordained a priest; thereby reserving to himself the right to marry, if the way should, at any time, be opened for his union with his cousin of England. He

* Mary was sixteen years younger than Pole; she was born at Greenwich on July 18, 1516. The disproportion was more marked between her and Philip, for Philip was younger than his wife by many years.

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was not ordained until he was nominated to the see of Canterbury; in modern parlance it might be said that the archbishopric of Canterbury was his title for priest's orders. It was, at one time, supposed by many that Pole was too staid a person to entertain an expectation so chimerical; but it is now made known to us through the Simancas papers that Cardinal Pole did actually propose himself to the emperor as a candidate for the hand of Queen Mary.*

This hope must have lingered in his mind, throughout his life, shaping his conduct and inflaming his ambition.

We must never forget, in the history of Pole, the intimate connection which existed between the members of his family and the court of Queen Katharine. When a household was formed for Prince Arthur, King Henry VII. gave proof of his reliance on the sound judgment and loyalty of Sir Richard Pole, by appointing him the chief gentleman of the prince's bed-chamber. Although this was his ostensible office, it was intended that he should have the general direction of the prince's affairs; and to Sir Richard was confided the administration of the Welsh government, when the Prince of Wales held his court with regal splendour at Ludlow.

On the arrival of the Infanta of Spain and the formation of her court, Lady Pole occupied in that court as distinguished and responsible a position, as that which had been conceded to her husband in the establishment of the prince. To both the deference and respect were shown which always attend courtiers whom a prince is pleased to distinguish by special notice. After the death of her brother, Margaret was not permitted by her husband to

* There is in existence a holograph of Pole to the emperor, in which the offer is made. See Mr. Bergenroth's communication to Mr. Duffus Hardy, in documents relating to Cardinal Pole among the Simancas papers.

forget, that his own life and the well-being of her family depended upon her loyalty and discretion. The Tudors were a good-natured race, except when they were made fierce by opposition or by their alarmed selfishness. Henry VII. desired both to humble and to conciliate the Yorkists, and was well pleased to see the representative of the York party holding a subordinate office in his court. It was impressed upon Margaret's mind by her husband, that she was likely to gain more by submission to the party in the ascendant than she could hope to realize by opposition. On the other hand, the Spanish princess, in a strange land, was glad to secure the friendship of a lady old enough to be her mother, and whose royal rank was only in abeyance, though the office she held was calculated or designed to remind her that her existence upon earth was only tolerated during her good behaviour.

On the birth of the Princess Mary, the bond of union between Katharine and the Poles was drawn still closer. To the custody of her—to whom for the sake of convenience and by a slight anachronism we shall give at once her historical name, and call her the Countess of Salisbury—Queen Katharine consigned the care of her child. The mother of Reginald Pole became a maternal friend of Mary. Reginald himself, a youth of sixteen, when visiting his mother, was permitted to fondle the infant as a kinsman. He took an interest in the development of her mind, as she passed from infancy to childhood. At her baptism, the royal infant was held at the font by the Countess of Salisbury; and the Countess of Salisbury was herself the child's sponsor when she was confirmed. More deeply still was the future queen of England indebted to the Pole family, for Katharine Pole was selected to be her wet-nurse. On state occasions, when the child was to be exhibited in public, she found her

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throne in Lady Salisbury's arms. To conciliate the Welsh, the princess was called the Princess of Wales, and a court was kept for her at Ludlow ; there, at the head of her household, appeared the Countess of Salisbury, exercising powers similar to those which had pertained to her husband when he was the prime minister of Prince Arthur. In chivalrous attachment to Queen Katharine and her daughter, the Pole family were thus by circumstances trained ; and those circumstances led first to their elevation and then to their fall.

For the perquisites of her office the Countess of Salisbury, as we see from the payments made to her, had no contempt ; and as Reginald was a younger son, she used her court influence to procure assistance from the State for his education. The king had at his command corrodiess in the abbeys and stalls in the cathedrals, the proceeds of which he might divert from the maintenance of the clergy to the education of those who were preparing for the clerical office. For the application of these in behalf of her son, the Countess of Salisbury made interest with the queen, whom at that time the king was willing to oblige. Henry VIII. was indeed fond of children, and made Mary in her childhood a favourite plaything. He was often with his wife in the nursery ; and for her attention to his little one, he was willing to remunerate Lady Salisbury in a manner which, while benefiting her and her son, put the king to no self-denying expense. We find various payments charged on public bodies for the education of the young man.

His primary education Reginald received at a grammar school of considerable repute attached to the convent of the Carthusians at West Sheen. This monastery, called the House of Jesus of Bethlehem, had been erected and endowed by Henry V. in 1414, out of the confiscated

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property of the alien priories.* Its vicinity to Richmond Palace was its chief recommendation. Here the schoolboy could visit his mother, and be honoured by the notice of the queen, with whom he soon became a favourite. The king also, whose tastes were literary, took an interest in the boy, and acknowledged him as a kinsman, who had a right to expect the patronage of the crown. The king did not share in Katharine's wish, that Pole should become the husband of his daughter, for he destined him to high preferment in the Church.

At twelve years of age, Reginald removed to Oxford. I infer from the notices in Wood that, he went first to school at the White Friars, and that he afterwards matriculated at Magdalen College.† The school attached to the convent of the Carmelites, situated in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, was a fashionable school at the time. The Carmelites lived rather luxuriously, and their accommodations are described as splendid, for they occupied a house which had originally been one of the palaces of the Kings of England. They seemed to have aimed at supporting the character of gentlemen; and their table and all the appointments of their establishment were in good keeping. There was nothing ascetic,

* See the Life of Chicheley. The palace at Sheen in Surrey was a favourite residence of the sovereigns of the Tudor dynasty. The house which had been erected by Henry V. was destroyed by fire in 1498. It was rebuilt by Henry VII. in 1501, when that monarch assigned to Sheen the name it still retains of Richmond, in remembrance of the title by which he had been at one time distinguished.

† In Henry VIII.'s book of payments, A.D. 1512, I find this entry: "To Reginald Pole, through Mr. Cole, for his exhibition at school this year, 12*l*." Among the State Papers, i. No. 4190, there is a mandate from Henry VIII. to the Prior of St. Frideswide, in which he is charged to give Reginald the pension of a clerk of the king's nomination until he be promoted to a competent benefice by the said prior.

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but there was little that was censurable in their establishment, beyond the glaring violation of their vows and the rules of their order. They compounded for this with their consciences, by the zeal they showed in the cause of education; their schools were well conducted under efficient teachers and proper discipline; and to attract the sons of nobles to the pursuits of literature was regarded by them as an act of sound policy if not of religion.

Pole matriculated as a nobleman. His favour at court more than his parentage attracted to him the attention of the magnates of the University. There is no proof of his having distinguished himself by his talents, beyond the assertion of those whose friendship he conciliated in after life, and who were not likely to know much on the subject. It is sufficient praise to say, that when, through the favour of the queen and the interest of his mother, who had now regained her title together with some of the enormous wealth of her maternal ancestors,* he was brought under the notice of Thomas Linacre and William Latimer, he conducted himself so much to their satisfaction, that he won their esteem, and was permitted to number them among his friends. This is the more worthy of remark, if the reader will recall what, in the "Life of Warham," has been said of these truly great men. They were united with Colet in reforming the studies of the University. They were, though Protestantism hardly at the time existed, very sturdy reformers. They were advocates of "the new learning," before this became a party designation; and in intercourse with these men, Pole no doubt formed those principles which had more or less influence over his mind until the very last. Pole learned here to admire Sir Thomas More; and an anecdote may be mentioned,

* There is in Dugdale an account of the estates in her possession at the time of her death.

which, trifling in itself, shows the kindness of Pole's nature. The news came to Oxford, while Pole was there, little more than a boy, that Sir Thomas More was ill. Pole immediately went to Linacre, the greatest physician of the day, and obtained from him a prescription. This he enclosed in a letter to the Countess of Salisbury. The cul-ling of simples and the apothecary's art were not beneath the notice of the great ladies of the age; and the countess was enjoined with her own hands to make up the prescription, which was duly conveyed, with a respectful message, to Sir Thomas.* The young man was gratified by a letter of thanks from the great lawyer and statesman. Another fact connected with Pole's Oxford life ought not to be overlooked, for it shows the gratitude as well as the kindness of his nature. William Latimer, one of the most learned men of the day, of whom Erasmus † says that he was "*vere theologus, integritate vitæ conspicuus*," had been one of Pole's tutors; and to Pole he was afterwards indebted for all the preferment he possessed; for from principle or modesty he had invariably refrained from asking for what his talents and industry might have claimed, and when Pole first knew him he was suffering from poverty.‡

In the year 1515, Pole was admitted, according to Anthony Wood, "to the reading of any logical book of Aristotle, that is, to the degree of Bachelor of Arts." In the same year he supplicated the venerable congregation of Regents that he might wear "*panni pretiosi et pelluræ*

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* Ep. Mori ad Erasmum, in Mori Vita a Stapleton ed. 221.

† Jortin's Erasmus, i. 9.

‡ After he left Oxford William Latimer retired to the rectory of Saintbury in Gloucestershire, where he died at an advanced age. He had also the rectory of Weston-under-Edge, and a prebend in the church of Salisbury. For what preferment he had he was indebted to Pole.—Jortin, i. 9.

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pretiosæ," and be permitted to enter the public library.* Wood was unable to discover from the University Registers how long Reginald Pole remained at Magdalene, or whether he ever took the degree of M.A.†

He continued to experience the royal patronage, for when he was only seventeen years of age, and not in holy orders, he was nominated to the prebend of Roscombe, in the Cathedral of Salisbury; and on the 10th of April, 1519, to the prebend of Gatcombe Secunda, in that Church. Previously to this he was appointed dean of Wimbourne Minster, in Dorsetshire. In 1527, he was elected, under a *congé d'élire* accompanied by a letter missive, to the deanery of Exeter, the dean being elected by the prebendaries, subject to the control of the crown.‡ The accumulation of so much preferment upon a youth not in holy orders, to enable him to pursue his studies in divinity, was not inconsistent with the opinions of the age. The endowments of the Church were not regarded as prizes to allure the worldly to peril their souls by taking holy orders without any vocation to the sacred office; they were designed to place at the disposal of those who were at the head of affairs the means of benefiting not merely a certain locality, but the Church at large. It was considered that the wealth of

* Athen. Oxon. i. 279.

† These expressions do not convey any clear idea to the mind of the ordinary reader, but doubtless they will be explained by some Oxford archæologists.

‡ The date of his appointment to Wimbourne, unknown to Wood, we are enabled to supply from the State Papers. The date is February 12, 1518. For Reginald Pole's presentation to the Collegiate Church of Wymborne Minstre, Sarisb. Dioc. dat. Westm. 12 Feb. 9 Henry VIII., see State Papers, Henry VIII. II. ii. p. 1227. Wood adds that then or soon after, he was made Dean of Exeter, but this is a mistake. He was not elected Dean of Exeter till the 12th of August, 1527, and was confirmed on the 13th of September. See Hardy's *Le Neve in loc.*

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the Church was legitimately expended when it was employed to train a young man, whose royal birth designated him for high ecclesiastical office, so as to enable him to discharge his official duties to the advantage of the country and to his own honour. Henry VIII., grateful to the Countess of Salisbury for her attention to his child, made no secret of his intention to advance her son to the primacy; and according to the notions then in vogue, he might fairly call upon the Church to educate its future primate; all that even a lay prebendary and dean had to do was to appoint a fit man to act as his deputy, and for a salary agreed upon to discharge the duties which he was unable himself to perform.* The principle was intelligible, and may be defensible; but it was liable to abuse. To modern ears it sounds strange that one who could neither preach nor administer the Sacraments should be permitted to share the emoluments and to hold some of the highest offices of the establishment.

When he was about nineteen years of age, Pole expressed a desire to finish his studies by visiting the foreign universities, especially those of Italy. The universities of Italy, and Italian society in general, had been especially influenced by the revival of learning—the

* The present system of regarding the emoluments of the Church as the means of providing pay for a certain amount of work done has a tendency to promote worldliness and discontent, and will lead to the question, Why should we retain the estates of the Church, since the pay may be supplied out of the general funds of the country, or by each congregation? The old system, having been liable to much abuse, was gradually abolished. But still we should remember, what has in these volumes been frequently remarked, that the emoluments of the Church, when the Church was first endowed, were not to afford pay to a certain number of individuals for a certain amount of labour, but to be expended as the rulers of the Church thought most conducive to the welfare of the Church.

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Renaissance, as it is called in France. Henry VIII. was influenced, of course, by the spirit of the age ; and at all the courts of Europe the sovereigns were distinguished as the patrons of learning. Himself a student and a man of considerable learning, the king was pleased that a kinsman should be eminent in the aristocracy of literature, and expected him to reflect honour upon his patron. He determined to afford every advantage to Pole, who went abroad *amplissimis stipendiis*. Ridley reckons his revenues at 1000*l.* a year, with a pension in addition of 500*l.** Beccatelli informs us that the profits of all his dignities were carefully managed and transmitted to him by Richard Pace, an eminent man, who afterwards became Secretary of State to Henry VIII., and who was at this time Pole's personal friend.†

Reginald Pole fixed his residence at Padua. The university was founded by Frederick II., and had now passed into the hands of the Venetians. The senate was ambitious of making their university the first in Italy ; and although the schools of Siena, of Lucca, and of Pisa were celebrated, Padua excelled them all, chiefly through the learning, generosity, and energy of Pietro Bembo. Erasmus describes it as the Italy of Italy.‡

On his arrival at Padua, Pole wrote, as in gratitude bound, to King Henry VIII. The letter is preserved among the State Papers, and is a remarkable one. It was evidently written in some doubt as to the manner in which Henry would receive the announcement, that wherever

* This sum must be multiplied by ten to reach the present value of money.

† Among the State Papers there are few more interesting than the letters of Richard Pace.

‡ "Sedemque fecit Patavii, quam urbem Italiam Italiae vocitari posse, quemadmodum Helladis Hellas Attica vocitata fuit, scribit Erasmus Petro Bembo."—Quirini, i. 219.

Pole went he was received with the honour due to a member of the royal family of England. He begins by expressing his sense of obligation to the king for his liberality. On his journey his expenses were great ; and at Padua the magistrates, instead of allowing him to live in retirement, had, out of their respect for the King of England, treated him with great respect ; and this notwithstanding Pole's assurances that he had come to Padua merely to study. He assured the king that he would not permit the nobles and bishops who were at Padua, among others a brother of the Duke of Bavaria, and the Marquis of Saluzzo, to outdo him in diligence. He concluded with expressing a hope that the king would not oblige him, for want of money, to abandon Padua for one of the inferior universities.*

Although the royal connexion with the Pole family had scarcely been recognised in England, Henry was rather pleased than otherwise with the attention shown to Reginald on the continent. To the young man himself the high position in which he found himself was a source of pride as well as of pleasure ; and he kept up a large and expensive establishment. We are not to attribute this to a vulgar love of ostentation ; he derived substantial benefit from his position. His house became the resort of the great and the learned, who were pleased to share his hospitality ; and, as the custom then was, he afforded board and lodging to several poor scholars, who, for the sake of sharing in the instruction given in common, were willing to discharge, without any derogation of their dignity, menial offices, a place below the salt being supplied to them at meal times. All united in sounding the praises of the young man, who went by the name of "The English nobleman."

* State Papers, 198.

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During this his first visit to the Continent, Pole contracted friendships, which lasted through life, with several Italian scholars. Many of them, though not Lutherans,* were nevertheless zealous reformers. I reserve my notice of Pole's Italian friends for the present, and shall only remark that while he was at Padua he received a letter from Erasmus, in which that great scholar introduced to the Englishman a Polish nobleman, of whom he says, "You will love him the more, for that he possesses some of the qualifications by which you are yourself distinguished—high birth, exalted station, still greater expectations. He is also remarkable for his extraordinary genius and erudition, and all this without a particle of pride."†

One name, however, cannot be passed over, for in writing the life of Longolio, or Longolius, as the name was Latinised in a Latin treatise, Reginald Pole first appeared in the world of letters as an author. Christopher Longolius was born either at Mechlin or at Schoonhove in Holland,‡ and was one of those Ciceronians of whom mention has been already made in the life of Warham, and in reference to their persecution of Erasmus. Longolius had himself attacked Erasmus, but the great

* The word Protestant did not become a sectarian title until the year 1529, and then it was applied to the Lutherans only. Its application to denote all who protest against the errors of Rome is of a comparatively modern date.

† Erasmus, Ep. 772.

‡ Erasmus says that he at one time had the affectation of trying to pass himself off for a Frenchman, though he be my countryman, *nostras*, says Erasmus. (Ep. 467.) In another place, he says, "*Longolium hinc Galliae sibi vendicant, hinc Mechlinia sibi asserit, quum revera fuerit purus putus Hollandus, prognatus a patre Hollando, in oppido celebri Hollandiae cui hortorum pulchritudo nomen dedit Schoonhovia.*" (Ep. 1284.) Pole begins his life thus: Christophorus Longolius Mechliniae, nobili Germaniae oppido, honesto splendidoque inter suos loco, natus fuit, and gives the authority of Longolius himself. See Pole's Life of him, in the *Vitæ selectorum aliquot Virorum* of Bates.

scholar appears to have pardoned the offence, though he evidently regarded his censor as a pedant, such as the Ciceronians generally were, rather than as a scholar. In another of his letters he gives an amusing description of the solemn gravity and the formal vanity of the young Ciceronian.* The Ciceronians attended to words rather than things; they would use no words except those for which they could find an authority in Cicero, and consequently many things of modern date they were unable to describe. What Jortin calls the heresy of the Ciceronians lasted about a century and then expired, "for the philologers of after times, aiming at extreme erudition, found that they had not leisure to play the fool, in curiously forming their style upon that of Cicero."

Longolius afterwards wrote against Lutheranism; but Jortin observes that in doing so he undertook a task for which he was incompetent, having nothing in his head besides Ciceronianism and a little philology. This judgment, however, is too severe; a young man could not have established so early a European reputation, even in that age, without being a person of considerable merit. He was resident in Padua when Pole arrived at the University, and being admitted into Pole's family, a friendship grew up between the young men which was honourable to both. It was here that Longolius perceived, that philology was not the only science to be cultivated, and he was giving himself up to theological studies when he felt that his end was approaching. There is an affectionate letter, preserved by Quirini, from Longolius to Pole, dated September 1520, in which he informs the latter

* Erasm. Ep. 1083. For Longolius, see, in addition to Pole, Baillet, vi. 56; Du Pin, xiv. 181; P. Jovius, Elog. 127; Val. Andrææ Bibl. Belg. 109; Miræi Elog. Belg. 114; Sammarth Elog. i. 4. The Life written by Pole is not given by Quirini, but may be found in Batesii Vitæ selectorum aliquot Virorum.

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that he has bequeathed to him his library; while he entreats him by their common friendship to undertake the work which, in writing his life, Pole piously and with much success accomplished. In Pole's life of Longolius there is no affectation of Ciceronianism; it is written in plain good Latin, and the story is well told. It was composed with all the care which a young author was likely to bestow on a work which was sure to be much read, and it far surpasses in excellence anything which afterwards proceeded from Pole's pen.

Pole remained abroad six years, supported in splendour through the munificence of Henry VIII. The circumstance of his remaining so long in Italy by choice, renders us suspicious of his sincerity, when he afterwards complained of the hardships of exile. It may be doubted whether he would have returned when he did, if it had not been for the entreaties of his mother; who, besides the natural yearning of a mother's heart to see a favourite son, had need of his counsel under the circumstances in which she now was placed, and which were every day becoming more and more complicated. Before returning home, however, Pole entertained a wish to see something of Rome; and the marvel is, that he should have been five years in Italy without visiting the Eternal City. We have, in explanation, his own assertion, that he had not yet turned his mind to theological studies or ecclesiastical pursuits. His ambition had been to become a man of literature and a patron of learned men. It is highly probable, that he had been encouraging his ambitious aspirations, and that he still cherished the hope that if ever the Princess Mary should become Queen of England, he might share her throne.

Leo X. died in 1521, not long after Pole's arrival in Italy. Although Leo X. was the patron of learned

men, yet his court was as profligate as it was magnificent; and with its scarcely disguised infidelity those who had the direction of Pole were unwilling to bring the unsophisticated mind of the young Englishman into contact. Adrian VI., the pious and truly excellent successor of Leo, was a man of considerable erudition, and displayed some taste in the fine arts; but in eradicating the paganism which had established itself in Rome he exhibited more zeal than judgment. He did right in denouncing the luxurious habits by which the papal palace had been profaned; but when, dismissing his servants, he submitted his household to the control of the old woman who had ministered to his wants at Louvain, he exposed himself to ridicule, and drove many from his society to whom his example might otherwise have been a blessing. At all events, Rome was not attractive to a young man who, to pursuits of literature at Padua, thought it no sin to add the enjoyment resulting from the refinements of civilised society.

The hopes or fears created by the elevation of Adrian to the papacy were dissipated by his early death; and the expectations of literary men were raised high, while the feelings of piety were no longer shocked, when Clement VII., another member of the Medici family, was elected his successor. Consequently, before returning to England, Pole paid a farewell visit to Venice, and thence proceeded to Rome.

At Rome he, nevertheless, appeared incognito. He did not make his appearance in the papal court; but from Giberti, Clement's confidential minister, with whom Pole had been previously acquainted, he received the most marked attentions. For Pole's conduct on this occasion we can account; for we find that, so early as the year 1525, a misunderstanding had occurred between the

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English and the papal courts.* Pole either thought it prudent, or more probably received instructions from home, not to wait upon the pope; while, on the other hand, Giberti was prompted by feelings of personal regard and political expediency to show every attention to one, of whose influence with Henry VIII. an exaggerated opinion evidently prevailed. From Rome Pole returned to settle his affairs at Padua, and then started for England. He left home a boy, he now returned a man. He is described by his successor, Archbishop Parker, as a man of a spare body, of a fresh complexion, with rather a broad face, but with eyes which showed the gentleness of his disposition. A hearty welcome awaited him, not only from his own family, but also from the king and queen, and even from the great cardinal himself. It was the fashion of the age for royalty to patronise learned men; and Henry was pleased to recognise as a kinsman a young man who had sustained the reputation of his country in the schools of learning. In describing England, Erasmus has spoken of the court of Henry VIII. as a school of philosophy and a temple of the Muses; he declared that, in his time, a man of erudition found a patron, not only in the king, but in almost every bishop of the Church of England. Erasmus, in thus writing, described the state of affairs a few years anterior to the return of Pole; but we shall acquit him of flattery, and admit, that he had foundation for his compliment, when we remember that

* It is worthy of remark, says Ranke (*History of the Popes*, i. 84), that Henry VIII., in spite of his declared hostility to Luther, and of his strict alliance with the see of Rome, on the first difference of affairs purely political, threatened Rome with ecclesiastical privations. This occurred at the beginning of 1525. He adds, "Wolsey had said in a threatening letter '*che ogni provincia diventerà Lutherana*,'" an expression which we may well regard as the first symptom of secession from Rome on the part of the English government.—Ghiberto ai Nuntii d' Inghilterra: *Lettere di Principi*, i. p. 147.

in the court of Henry Cuthbert Tonstall was Master of the Rolls, Sir Thomas More a Member of Privy Council, Pace Secretary of State, William Montjoy Chamberlain to the queen, John Stokesley Clerk of the Closet, Linacre the royal physician, and Colet the king's chaplain. So proud was Henry of his learned courtiers, that we have Pole's own authority, when writing to the emperor in reference to the present time, for saying that, on his return home, Henry on one occasion singled him out in a crowded court, and, with his usual *bonhomie*, declared his conviction that, in all his travels, Pole could not have met with an example of learning and probity equal to that of the Bishop of Rochester—the pure-minded Fisher whom he soon after cruelly murdered.*

We may not omit the name of the great cardinal; but Wolsey may rather be considered as a patron of learning than one of the literati of the day—a Mæcenas rather than an author.

Such had been the court of England when Pole commenced his travels. But on his return home he found a change in the aspect of affairs. The king was still living with his wife. Anne Boleyn had not appeared upon the stage. But Reginald was not slow to discover, that an estrangement had already taken place between Henry and Katharine. Almost immediately after his return, in the year 1527, the rumour reached him that the king entertained scruples of conscience with reference to the legality of his marriage with his brother's widow. It was said, and truly, that the doubts had been insinuated into his mind by the cardinal; who for political reasons wished him to contract another marriage. Overcalculating his power over the king's mind, Wolsey had expected

* Apolog. Reginaldi ad Carolum V. Cæsarem, 95. Fisher was one of the critics whom the king consulted on his celebrated letter to Luther.

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that in choosing a wife the king would be influenced by political considerations, and that the lady would be selected at the dictation of the minister.

The proposal as it first met the royal ear was well received. There had never been a queen regnant. The Empress Matilda had resigned her claim in favour of her son; and the husband of Henry's own mother, Elizabeth, the rightful heir to the English throne, had become the king; but this was an exceptional, almost a revolutionary, proceeding;—as afterwards in the case of William and Mary, it was accepted by the country rather than approved, from an anxiety in the first instance to unite the two factions of York and Lancaster, and in the second to keep out the Papists. Attached though he was to his daughter Mary, Henry was the first to assert the importance of there being a male heir to the throne; and it was no longer expected that Katharine would present a son to her husband. A divorce might be obtained from the pope if Katharine would concur with her husband in seeking it. For political reasons, and to secure for the sake of her adopted country such a blessing as an undoubted heir to the throne, the queen might be expected to acquiesce in the arrangement. Her rank, as at least the second lady in the land, would be secured to her, and none of the splendours of royalty withheld from her. When Anne of Cleves, at a subsequent period, had descended from the throne matrimonial, she had no grounds, so far as outward circumstances were concerned, for complaint. The grateful king delighted to do her honour. That there was nothing preposterous in Cardinal Wolsey's proposal is proved by what has occurred within our own memory; for we have seen a foreign despot determining on a divorce, and, in order that through another marriage his dynasty might be continued, repudiating the wife to

whom he was at one time deeply attached, and to whose generosity he was indebted for many of the means which conduced to his extraordinary rise in life. His will was law to his wife, to his country, to the pope. Josephine, so far as worldly circumstances were concerned, had no reason to complain; and Bonaparte was only prevented by an avenging Providence from handing on his crown to his children.

But although the case, as regarded Henry, seemed simple enough to Wolsey and to the politicians of the day, it became difficult at first, because the queen had a heart—and then impossible—because the king took the case further out of the sphere of politics, and in his passionate determination to advance his mistress to the throne of his wife, inflamed the jealousy of an unhappy loving woman, who had other and still stronger grounds for refusing her consent to an arrangement which appeared so reasonable to the mere statesman. If Katharine were divorced, it would be on the ground, that her marriage with Henry had been *ab initio* void; and if she had never been married, the bastardy of her child was the inevitable consequence. The question relating to the Princess Mary was, throughout this unhappy transaction, the difficulty which politicians had to meet.

We are obliged to notice the state of the case, because it is by so doing, that we do justice to the prudence of Pole on the present occasion. In 1527, all that the queen knew was, that the king had scruples of conscience on the subject of their marriage. He professed his determination to abide by the decision of the canonists, and hoped—at least he said so—that they would decide that his marriage with Katharine was legitimate and valid. The queen had no doubt that Pope Clement would confirm what Pope Julius had done; and by ratifying the dispensation, establish the legality of the marriage.

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The queen, nevertheless, saw that her husband's affection to her, if not alienated, was no longer what it had been. She was unhappy, but her grief was told to no one; her sorrows were of that kind which are buried in the deepest recesses of the heart. She uttered no complaint. She did not form any party or cabal. There was externally no separation between her and her husband. The Countess of Salisbury could only look on in pity. If we suppose, that to her the queen poured out her grief in private, we shall not perhaps be mistaken; but of the fact we have no proof. Reginald Pole had no right to interfere, or even to express an opinion.

There was not the same delicacy and reserve observed on the other side. Whatever the king might say in public or among his courtiers about his unwillingness to be separated from the queen, the members of his privy council were quite aware that he was tired of Katharine, and that he anxiously desired a divorce. The divorce which Wolsey was the first to suggest they continued to discuss in private, until he at length declared the madness of his infatuation with respect to Anne Boleyn. It then became of some importance to discover how far Reginald Pole, who, though devoted to the queen, was the kinsman of the king, would be prepared to act if he were summoned, as he might fairly expect to be summoned, as a member of the privy council.

The person selected to sound the young man, and perhaps to indoctrinate him, was no less a personage than Thomas Crumwell.

Crumwell had been already admitted to the confidence of Cardinal Wolsey, though we can scarcely imagine two men more different from each other in point of character. Crumwell had made himself particularly useful to Wolsey in the measures he adopted for the dissolution of monas-

teries, the revenues of which were to be devoted to the establishment of his two colleges at Ipswich and Oxford. So useful had Crumwell made himself in the discharge of offices to which Wolsey himself would not condescend, that he had now obtained a permanent footing in the cardinal's household. What was his exact position does not appear, but he had become at this time, after various shiftings and speculations, a lawyer; and he seems to have occupied the place of an agent for the cardinal's estates and of a confidential attorney. The management of the cardinal's affairs was in his hands; and to the young scions of nobility who flocked to the cardinal's court he rendered himself useful by lending them money. At the same time they found pleasure in conversing with a man of the world, whose conversation, though he was devoted to the king and the cardinal, was decidedly of a character which we should in this age describe as revolutionary.*

We have a specimen of his style of conversation handed down to us in the celebrated apology of "Pole to the Emperor;" and it is from this that I have drawn the inference that Crumwell's object was, acting under the direction of Wolsey, to ascertain whether Pole was a manageable person. It is narrated in the usual ponderous style of Pole; but from our knowledge of the character of each of the two men it is easy to picture to our minds the scene as it occurred.

Pole had called at York House to pay his respects to the cardinal. While he was waiting the great man's leisure, he was approached by Crumwell. With that peculiar charm of voice and manner which, in spite of the plainness of his physiognomy, charmed all who came in

* For a full account of this extraordinary man, and for a reference to those private documents which exist to show the baseness of his character, the reader is referred to the introductory chapter of this book.

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contact with him, Crumwell drew Reginald into a discussion of the qualifications necessary to the formation of a statesman's character, and of the general principles upon which counsellors were to act when their advice was asked by a sovereign. Pole laid down the rule, that a statesman called upon to tender advice to his prince should have only one object in view : whether it were palatable to the sovereign or not, he ought to seek simply and solely the furtherance of the twofold object, the honour of the king and the well-being of the realm. With the self-complacent pedantry of a young man fresh from the university, he hoped to astonish the unlettered man of business, by an accumulation of arguments, and by quotations from the classics to enforce what he might have asserted as a truism—a truism it was if regarded from a moral and not from a political point of view. Crumwell heard him with patience : and, as we can imagine, with a provoking smile, signifying amusement at the enthusiasm of an inexperienced youth, whom he was determined in his turn to astonish and to shock. With a patronising air he observed that nothing could be more correct in theory than the position of Pole ; it was precisely what he ought to say if the question were whether he was to occupy the chair of a professor or the pulpit of a preacher ; but it became a very different question when you pass from the school room or the church, to the council chamber. Then it is necessary to consider the circumstances of time and place ; to advise what is expedient, and to judge of the expediency not from books but from experience ; to look to one's own advantage rather than that of the country, by consulting the wishes of the sovereign. Hence, men of mere book learning, lacking the experience of practical men, were almost sure of getting into difficulties, if at any time called upon to give an opinion on state affairs. The

king, who would applaud the sentiments so learnedly enforced by Pole, if propounded by a professor or a preacher, would hold the statesman in contempt who should advance such opinions; if a man should prefer the good and the true to the expedient, he would soon be dismissed from the council of princes. He went on to say, that sagacity to divine the thoughts of a king was necessary in a wise statesman, and such sagacity no books or book-learning could supply. A sovereign would sometimes disguise his real opinions, pretending to desire the very opposite of that which he was determined to accomplish; at the time that he had in his mouth the high-flown sentiments of religion and virtue, he would often be determined to set every principle of religion at defiance, in order that he might effect some unhallowed purpose. If a statesman wished to succeed, he must exert the powers of his mind to discover the real wishes of the king; and then so to manage affairs as to effect the royal object, without appearing to violate those fundamental principles of religion and virtue which, though violated in practice, it is politic to support in theory. The furtherance of the royal will, in short, was to be the sole object of the statesman; and when thus serving his master, he ought to make it appear that the promotion of the public good was his single desire and object.

Principles so entirely new astonished the unsophisticated mind of Pole: he remarked, that such a person acknowledged no law when his prince's inclination was to be gratified; if he had been Nero's counsellor, when the murder of the emperor's mother was under debate, he would have justified that parricide. He was thoroughly disgusted; but he said, that Crumwell probably was only arguing for argument's sake. He was, however, assured that this was by no means the case: Pole had been

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devoting his mind to classical literature and to the volumes of philosophers—men who had no experience of public affairs, and who were, therefore, unable to give instruction in a science which can be mastered only by experience. Assuming a tone of superiority, which must have been peculiarly galling to the young aristocrat, Crumwell expressed his esteem for Pole, and a desire to save him from the disappointment and difficulties to which he would be infallibly exposed if he persisted in following the old-fashioned notions of men who, however deeply read, were ignorant of the world. If he must read, he offered to lend him the short treatise of a man who was well versed in affairs, had a knowledge of human nature, and was thoroughly practical; very different from Plato, who laid down laws for an imaginary republic which neither existed nor could exist, this author, instead of indulging in daydreams, gives us the result of his own experience. He alluded to Machiavelli, whose treatise “The Prince” had been published not long before.*

Pole was not appointed to the Privy Council; but

* The admirers of Crumwell have doubted the reality of this conversation; but history cannot be written if we doubt every fact to which we are unwilling to give credence. The statement is made on Pole's own authority. There was nothing imaginative about Pole; he is a heavy writer, and this statement has never been supposed to be, and indeed—regard being paid to the context—could not be, an interpolation. When this conversation took place no reply had been published to Machiavelli, and his work was generally read with attention and even with applause. But before Pole wrote, the character of the work was known; and he certainly mentioned the conversation for the purpose of disparaging the character of Crumwell. Pole thinks Crumwell discovered his mistake, and did not keep his promise by lending him the work. But from what has lately been discovered of Crumwell's history we know him to have been thoroughly Machiavellian; and there is no reason to suppose that he should not admire the work, although when it was universally reprobated, he might find it convenient to conceal his regard for it.

when he signified his wish of retiring from court, and of pursuing his studies in private life, he was permitted still to reside at Sheen.

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Here, within the precincts of the Carthusian convent, he occupied a house which had formerly been the residence of Dean Colet, an ecclesiastic of whom we have before given an account, and with whose sentiments the opinions of Pole would at this time accord. He remained at Sheen for two years; and here he was permitted, without molestation, to prosecute his studies. During this period, the subject of the king's divorce occupied the attention of the public; and no doubt was entertained at court that the king would find in Reginald Pole, if not a zealous, yet a steady supporter and advocate. He was not called upon to give an opinion on the subject, and had not formed one, but his advocacy was assumed as a matter of course. The cause was under trial in the courts of justice, and of the integrity of the judges no doubt was entertained. Affairs assumed, however, an unpleasant aspect, when, on the 8th of June, 1528, Cardinal Campeggio had arrived in England. Accompanied by Cardinal Wolsey, he had waited upon the queen, in the hope, it can scarcely have amounted to an expectation, that she might on public grounds be persuaded to give her consent to a dissolution of her marriage with the king. In June 1529, the queen having withdrawn from the legatine court, was pronounced contumacious. Meantime, another and a very unpleasant circumstance had become known—namely, the king's insane devotion to Anne Boleyn.

It is the best defence that can be offered for Henry VIII. that he was labouring under a monomania. By the courtiers it was declared that his attachment to her who ruled over his court as "The Lady" was Platonic; and it is generally supposed that there were reasons

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prevalent for some time which prevented the Lady Anne from listening to the proposals of the king. The injured queen, meanwhile, was passive. She did not attempt to form a party, or to offer opposition to her husband in any way, except that of refusing to recede from her acknowledged rights. She might be dethroned by act of despotism, but she would not dethrone herself; her husband might discard her, but her conjugal rights she would never renounce.

Pole was not, therefore, bound by party ties, and even supposing, which is improbable, that he had already determined to side with the pope against the king, no reason existed why Pole should not assist the latter in obtaining an opinion from the Universities in favour of the divorce. The king thought, or he was anxious to make it appear, that the pope was desirous of meeting the king's wishes, but that he saw certain obstacles in the way of granting the divorce, not insuperable and yet not easy to surmount. The king, therefore, when he sought the judgment of the Universities, represented himself, not as assuming a position hostile to the authorities at Rome, but as one whose object it was to strengthen the pope's hands. If, therefore, Pole was engaged in obtaining votes from the University of Paris favourable to the king's view of the case, much might be advanced in defence of his conduct. At the same time, we can easily understand how, though engaged to further the views of his benefactor, he did so reluctantly; for he could not fail to entertain feelings of compassion towards the unfortunate queen, through whose interposition the patronage of Henry had been extended originally to his neglected kinsman.

But this did not suffice for the friends of Pole, or for Pole himself in after times. They asserted, and Pole implied, that he had refused employment on this occasion.

In his treatise "De Unitate" he expressly declares, that, on the ground of his inexperience, he at first refused to act as the king's agent in the mission to the University of Paris; that when obliged to take part in the proceedings, he asked for some counsellor more conversant than himself with the question; and he adds that the king immediately complied with his request. He solemnly declares that he was only nominally at the head of the commission; that if the king had not acceded to his wish of placing the real business in other hands, there was no kind of death which would not have been more welcome to him than such employment.* This was his deliberate assertion, made several years afterwards. But we may here ask, How is this assertion to be reconciled with the following letters, just discovered in the Record Office? The first is a holograph letter from Reginald Pole to Henry VIII., relating to the arrival of the French king's letter to the University of Paris, and promising speedy notice of future occurrences.

* Having alluded to the many persons opposed to Henry's proceedings in relation to the divorce, Pole says: "quo in numero me fecisse verissime possum dicere, qui (Deum testor) nihil unquam in vita mihi accidisse meminerim acerbius, quam esse ad me, Lutetiæ Parisiorum tum agentem, delatam mandato tuo præclaram illam legationem, cum eo maximo concilio illuc secessem, ne ulla ratione particeps fierem eorum conciliorum quæ domi tuæ contra teipsum, te ipso auctore ac principe, agitabantur, quæ quidem extra regnum proditura non existimaram, ad me tamen tunc illic agentem, literæ tuæ et mandata venerunt, ut cum Parisiensibus causam tuam agerem: quo quidem tempore memini me, ut primum potuerim per acceptum inopinato illo nuncio dolorem, tibi rescribere, (nam mihi aliquod tempus non vocem solum, sed pene etiam cogitationem omnem dolor eripuerat,) imperitiam meam excusasse, et te rogasse, ut alterum magis in eo genere exercitatum mitteres: id quod statim fecisti; ac ni fecisses, *nullum profecto mortis genus non mihi levius illo munere fuisset*; quod nunquam plane in me recepi, personam tamen ad tempus mihi imponi passus sum, dum alter adesset, cui totum negotium, cujus me imperitum esse dixeram, commisisses." —De Unitate, lxxix. How this statement is to be reconciled with the letters it is difficult to say.

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“Pleaseth it your grace to be advertised, that even as I had written and sealed these other letters directed to your grace ready to give to the messenger, I was certified from Monsieur de Langes that there was a post arrived here which had brought all such letters from the French king to the University, as Mr. Welsborne your grace’s orator had written to be sent by the last post that went with letters to your grace from the French court. So that now whereas I write in my last letters to your grace what doubt both Monsieur de Langes and I were, because the letters did not appear that your ambassador writ. Now we be satisfied in that behalf. And Monsieur de Langes sheweth me they be as effectuously written as could be devised for your grace purpose; insomuch that there is no other delay but the expectation of certain doctors which be chefe of your grace part and now absent but looked for surely to return within 5 days. And these arrived as the speed that be made in publishing your cause your grace shall be advertised from time to time. With the grace of God who prosperously preserve your grace in his high pleasure.

“Written at Parys the 14th day of May.

“Your faithful servant and scolar

“RAYNOLD POLE.”

Endorsed *Reynold Pole to the king’s majesty.*

And again

R. Pole

To the King’s Highnes.

In the July following he sent another letter :—

“Pleaseth it your highness to be advertised that the determination and conclusion of the divines in this University in your great matter achevyd and dyvysed according to your desired purpose, upon Saturday last past, the sealing of the same hath been protracte unto this day; nor never could be obtained afore, for any soliciting of our parte that were your agents here; who never ceased to labour all that lay in us for the expedition of it both with the primeyr president, and with all such as we thought might in any part further or aid us therein. But what difficulties and stops hath been to let the obtaining of the seal of

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the University, notwithstanding the conclusion and determination passed and agreed unto by the more part of the faculty afore, by the reason of such opposition as the adversary part hath made, senythe the time the conclusion was finished and divers other ways excogitate by them to embecyll the hole determination, that it should not take effect, nor go forth in that same form as it was concluded, it may please your grace to be advertised of this bearer Mr. Fox, who with his prudence, diligence and great exercise in the cause hath most holpe to resist all these crafts and inventions of the adversaries, and to bring it to that point, as your most desired purpose hath been to have it, and most according to the hope that I had of him at the beginning and first breaking of the matter amongst the faculty here, when I, somewhat fearing and foreseeing such contentions, altercations and empeschments as by most lykelode might ensue did give your grace advertisement how necessary I thought it was of Mr. Fox presence. And whereas I was informed first by Mr. Lupsett and afterwards by Mr. Fox how it standeth with your grace pleasure, *considering my fervent desire therein that your matter once achieved and brought to a final conclusion in this University*, I should repair to your presence, your grace could not grant me at this time a petition more comfortable unto me. And so, making what convenient speed I may, my trust is shortly to wait upon your highness. Jesu preserve your most noble grace to his pleasure. Written at Parys the 7th day of July,

“By your grace’s most humble and faithful servant,
“RAYNOLD POLE.”*

Endorsed *Reynold Pole to the king’s majesty.*

And again

*To the King’s highnes
from Mr. Raynold Pole.*

If other circumstances, hereafter to be mentioned, did not establish the fact, that a want of sincerity was a defect

* There is in the Record Office a copy of a letter from the King of France to the President of the University of Paris blaming the conduct of Beda in the assembly of Theologians, dated June 17, 1530.

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in Pole's character, we might attempt to palliate his conduct on this occasion ; but the very fact of his returning to England and remaining there undisturbed for two years, is sufficient to show, that the king had not taken serious offence at Pole's conduct when employed on this mission. But, on the other hand, the wish of his friends that he should return to England and vindicate himself against a charge of lukewarmness in the king's behalf ; together with the other fact, that during these two years he pursued his studies in retirement at Sheen, may justify us in concluding that he may in private have expressed, in terms too strong to please the king, his commiseration for the queen and for the young princess.

He was permitted to leave the court at which Anne Boleyn now held sway. The queen had not quitted it, but the dissipation that prevailed had become offensive to Pole's good taste and right feelings. He resumed his residence at his old quarters at Sheen. But a change had taken place in the character of his studies. He had hitherto devoted his mind to classical literature, and had taken little interest in theological pursuits. His object was henceforth to make himself an accomplished divine.* Two years passed away in studious retirement. Not having been seen at court, and having taken no part in politics, Pole was taken by surprise when he received from the king an offer of the Archbishopric of York, vacant by the death of Cardinal Wolsey.

The offer made to Reginald of the Archbishopric of York was perfectly consistent with the policy to which we have before adverted, by which the Poles were, though depressed yet conciliated. It evinced a kindly feeling towards the Poles, and yet the archbishopric being only

* This is stated by Pole himself, expressly, in a letter to Sadoletto, Poli Epist. i. 401.

a life office there was no necessary elevation of the family. We may suspect, that it was suggested by Crumwell, who had endeavoured, as we have seen, to persuade Reginald to adopt what may be called the principles of the young England of the period, and may have designed the offer of the archbishopric as a bribe. But the offer, whatever may have been its political bearings, was in accordance with the feelings of the king, who could enjoy the luxury of giving pleasure when the gift did not interfere with his passions sensual or malignant, or with the selfishness which, in many ways, rendered a man despotic, tyrannical, and cruel, by whom in the absence of a Nathan those vices, in other persons, would have been denounced. Nevertheless, the king could not be expected to offer a place of so much influence and power to a person by whom its influence might be used to thwart his policy as a sovereign or his pleasure as a man, without obtaining some guarantee for his subservience to the royal will.

There was one question, the divorce question, by which the royal mind was absorbed. Since Reginald's return from Paris, a change had gradually taken place in the public mind. During the last two years, the public feeling—originally favourable to the divorce, when it was brought under notice as an abstract political question—had been scandalized by finding, that this extreme measure was demanded not from political considerations merely, but now, if not originally, to gratify the king's passion for another lady, who, having first usurped the queen's place in Henry's heart, was aspiring to her throne. Reginald may have been silent upon the subject, but silence at such a time would be suspicious; and before his elevation to the see of York it was not unreasonable, that he should be called upon to give a pledge that he would

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not employ the high powers with which he would be invested to frustrate the designs of the sovereign.

The Duke of Norfolk accordingly waited upon Pole, commissioned by the king to make a conditional offer of the metropolitan throne of the north. From what we know of the principles, the character, and the feelings of Pole, we can understand that there must have been other reasons which rendered him unwilling to give the required pledge, besides a reluctance to take a decided—and from his position it would be a permanent—part against his mother's friend, and one who was his real patron, since for the kindness of the king Pole was first indebted to the interposition of the queen. Reginald had moreover a detestation of Crumwell, and he foresaw that Crumwell was about to become the chief adviser and servant of the crown. He doubtless regarded the pledge he was required to give as a pledge to act as a subordinate in Crumwell's government. Such a pledge he was determined not, even by implication, to give. He would pledge himself to devote his whole mind to the promotion of the king's interests; but whether those interests would be really promoted by Pole's undertaking, *coûte que coûte*, to contend for the divorce was a doubtful matter. The cause was under trial; he could hardly be expected to act as if sentence had been pronounced.

The Duke of Norfolk, who had waited upon Pole officially, now undertook to argue with him as a friend; and Sheen he did not leave, until he had persuaded the young man to ask for time, in order that he might view the proposal made to him in all its bearings. The king granted him a month.

During that month, Reginald had to listen to arguments urged with fraternal vehemence. To refuse to accept the archbishopric under the proffered conditions would be, it was said by his brother, to offer an insult to the king,

and to convert a powerful friend into a vindictive enemy. Pole himself saw the question in its real light—for the sake of the archbishopric was he prepared to become the slave of the king? At the end of the month, however, Reginald Pole expressed his willingness to wait upon his majesty and to tender his grateful thanks for the high honour he proposed to confer upon him.

We will lay before the reader the bald facts of the case, without being influenced by the comments insinuated in the statement of them made by Pole.

Reginald was directed to wait upon the king's grace at York House—a house which had been tyrannically seized from the see of York. Here he remained in a private gallery. The king soon made his appearance in high good humour; pleased as he always was to give pleasure, and glad to receive, as a friend pledged to serve him, one for whom he had always entertained a strong partiality. Reginald in the course of conversation began to argue on the merits or demerits of the divorce. The king grew angry—as Pole would represent him, furious—and leaving the room slammed the door in Reginald's face.

Beccatelli, Pole's secretary, who in writing his life records anecdotes narrated to him by his master, makes what Bishop Burnet calls a romantic tale of this transaction. The intrepidity of Pole—Pole being himself the narrator—both the hero and the historian—is represented as almost miraculous, while the passion of the king was such that his hand was seen two or three times on the handle of his dagger, as if he doubted whether or not to plunge it into Reginald's heart.*

That Reginald, when the king condescended to argue with him on the subject of the divorce, produced arguments against the divorce, we may readily admit; but we

* See Ep. Poli, 262, and Apologia ad Angliæ Parliamentum, 183.

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may doubt the violence of the king's anger—or, at all events, we must remember that it must have been but short-lived—for immediately after the interview, he required him to place his arguments on paper; and when Pole had done so he received the document with complacency, only directing that it should be answered. As to the heroism of Pole in venturing to argue the case at all before Henry, we have Pole's own authority for stating, that Henry was at this precise period inclined to leave the question of the divorce in the hands of the pope, and that he would have done so if Crumwell had not interposed. Crumwell it was who persuaded the king, who was easily persuaded to do what he was inclined to do, to set the papal authority at defiance.*

We repeat it—Pole is himself the ultimate authority for all the statements made with reference to this portion of his life. He wrote four years after the events had taken place; at a time when his mind was no longer in doubt, and when he had finally chosen his party.

We do not accuse him of fabricating facts; we do not suspect him of an intention to deceive others; but we may imagine that he first deceived himself, and that his self-deception arose from an imagination, that he had suffered in the cause he was at that time supporting. He desired the sympathy of his friends as a confessor if not a martyr, before he had really suffered at all. Exaggeration sometimes approaches so nearly to fabrication, as to render the one undistinguishable from the other.

* Pole ad Carolum Imp. 27. Pole gives the arguments adduced by Crumwell at some length and rhetorically. The question occurs, How could Pole have become acquainted with the facts he thus records in detail? This section in his letter to Charles V. is sufficient to make us receive with great caution all his statements. He did not intentionally falsify, but he coloured exaggerated statements.

There are certain facts to be opposed to the statement of Pole; and before we accept his own view of his case they must be explained. That Pole did refuse to pledge himself to give an unreasoning support to the king's cause is certain, for the Archbishopric of York was given to another. He may not have made so great a sacrifice in doing this as might at first sight appear. Even his friends admit that, throughout his life, he never relinquished the idea of a marriage with the Princess Mary. Some of my readers will be able to understand the difference between not relinquishing and really entertaining the hope; they may understand, that when the archbishopric was offered to him, the chance of such a marriage being very remote, he would, if all things were equal, have sacrificed his daydream to the certainty of a ducal mitre; but that when difficulties arose he was the less zealous in combating them, from the feeling that there was still a chance of drawing a higher prize in the lottery of life.

But when we have admitted, that he did refuse, under every and any circumstance, to support the divorce, we recall the mind of the reader to what has just been said, that Henry VIII., if he did slam the door in the face of the disputatious Pole, was not long in a rage; that soon after he calmly received the very same arguments in writing, and received them graciously. It was one of the peculiarities of Henry's character, that he was not generally irritated by contradiction in argument, determined though he was in action to have his commands obeyed. Then, again, though the archbishopric was not conferred upon him, Pole remained unmolested. He was not exiled from the country, but simply obtained the king's permission to travel, a permission which the king was reluctant to give; and when he gave it, it was not

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given in anger, for he allowed Pole to retain his preferences, his emoluments, his splendid allowances; and, in point of fact, he retained them for four years. Even at the end of four years, Henry was not certain how far the measures of his government had or had not made an opponent of Pole.

Now, we are constrained to ask whether Henry VIII. was a man likely to act thus liberally, munificently, to a subject engaged in thwarting him on the two subjects of the divorce and the supremacy, which were involving his government in every kind of difficulty, and had almost excited a rebellion? An historian has no right to reject facts because they do not coincide with his preconceived opinions; but we may and we must have regard to an author's position, object, and character, in order that we may make allowance for the light in which his facts are placed. We may not accuse him of falsification, though we must be careful that his rhetoric shall not be crystallized into logic.

We shall perhaps find the solution of the difficulty by a reference to the letter written by Pole, at the king's command, after the interview at York House. In obedience to the royal command Pole put his arguments into writing. The document itself has not been discovered; but its contents are made known to us in a letter written by Dr. Cranmer, and addressed to the Earl of Wiltshire. It was written, Cranmer remarked, with so much wisdom, that 'Mayster Raynold Pole might be, for wisdom, of the council of the king's grace; and with such eloquence, that if it were set forth and known to the common people, it were not possible to persuade them to the contrary.'

Now, the whole purport of the letter was to dissuade the king from acting on the advice of Cranmer and Crumwell. His object was to conjure the king to submit

his cause to the judgment of the pope, and to abide by his decision. "Herein," says Cranmer, "me seemeth he lacketh much judgment. But he suadeth us with such goodly eloquence, both of words and sentence, that he were like to persuade many; but me he suadeth on that point in nothing at all."

We are told, that the king received the letter most graciously, contrary to the expectation of the Duke of Norfolk and Pole's brothers. We can account for this, to a certain extent, by what Pole himself has told us, that the king's mind was at this time veering round to that point. He thought, just at this time, that the pope would decide in his favour.

The real position of Pole was this: he would abide by the pope's decision; if that were in the king's favour, the king should have his support; and with this answer the king was satisfied. If Pole had been willing to act as the king's friend, to support his policy, and, in short, to form one of his government, he might have the Archbishopric of York. But the king would not incur the odium of appointing so young a man to so important a post, unless that man was "out and out a king's man." But Henry had not as yet quarrelled with the pope; he was fully persuaded, that he would succeed in intimidating his holiness, though he complained, as well he might, of the delay. Such being the case, though he would not on the one hand reward Reginald Pole, yet he would not, on the other hand, dismiss him from his court, or deprive him of his emoluments.

Another circumstance favoured Pole. Crumwell had sounded him on several occasions, to ascertain whether he would adopt the Machiavellian principles, which, having really actuated the statesmen of Europe more or less since the time of Louis XI. of France, had lately

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been reduced to a system by the crafty Italian politician. It is probable that the offer of the archbishopric was a suggestion of Crumwell's, for his object was to win to his side one for whom the king had manifested a liking, and through whose support he might have strengthened a party against the old nobility by whom he was despised, and against the new nobility who were jealous of him. The brothers of Pole saw the policy of attaching themselves to the fortunes of the rising man; but the aristocratic, the conservative, the religious principles of Reginald revolted from the thought of contact with the unscrupulous adventurer, who, to make his own fortune, and to act the despot to the people, hesitated not to pander to the worst vices of the sovereign. Crumwell was too wise a man to quarrel openly with one to whom the king was disposed to listen, and who even to the king would fearlessly speak his mind. He had come to the conclusion, that Pole was an impracticable person, a self-conceited pedant, a bookish ignoramus. But Crumwell despised no one, being well aware that mighty things are brought to pass through the instrumentality of fools. When he found that he could not employ Pole for the furtherance of his own ends at court, he was determined to prevent him from offering obstructions to his policy, or from heading an opposition which, however unsuccessful, might nevertheless be troublesome. If he had attempted to drive Pole into exile, he might have been resisted; but when Pole himself expressed a wish to revisit the Continent, he facilitated the arrangements, and, to expedite his departure, he offered no opposition to the retention of his emoluments.

Reginald Pole left England in 1532. It is quite certain, that when he quitted his country it was supposed at court and in his family that, if not hearty in the king's

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cause, yet he was nevertheless willing by his conduct to prove his gratitude to the royal benefactor, by whose munificence he was still supported. For four years his discretion or his worldly wisdom was so great that his income was not endangered by any open demonstration, on his part, of opposition to the will of the king. On politics he was silent; and we cannot but remember that, previously to his assumption of an attitude of hostility to Henry, he had established a position in Italy, in which, if he lost a patron in his king, he was certain to find one in the pope.

Pole, having now determined to devote himself to the study of sacred literature, took up his abode, on first going abroad, at Avignon, the resort at that time of many men of learning. Being always, however, of a delicate constitution, he came to the conclusion, after a year's trial, that the air of Avignon did not agree with him. While he resided at Avignon, he renewed or commenced his acquaintance with Sadoletto; and to have conciliated to himself the friendship of such a man was an honour to Pole of which he might be justly proud.

Among the contemporaries of Pole, few men deserved and enjoyed such a reputation for piety, benevolence, and learning as Jacobo Sadoletto. We may regard him as a paternal friend; for Sadoletto was born at Modena in the year 1477, and was, therefore, old enough to be Pole's father. He received his primary education at the University of Ferrara, and completed it at Rome, where he was admitted into the family of the Cardinal Olivieri Caraffa. Through the elegance of his scholarship, he attracted to himself the notice of Leo X. By that pontiff he was made one of the papal secretaries, and was remunerated for his services by the bishopric of Carpentras in the Venaisin. On the death of his patron, Sadoletto's scholarship was no recommendation to the favour of Adrian VI.; and he was

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too honest in the advice he gave, to please the intriguing politician Clement VII. He was employed by each of these pontiffs for a short time, and then, to his great satisfaction, he was permitted to retire to Carpentras. Here his house became the resort of learning, and a school for young students; at the same time, by his piety towards God and his charity to man, he won for himself the highest of all titles—that of the father of his people. To his surprise, and not much to his satisfaction, he was created a cardinal by Paul III.; and he accompanied the pope, when Paul went to Nice, to negotiate between the emperor and the King of France, and again when the pope went to Busseto. But Sadoletto's plain-speaking was not more acceptable to Paul than it had been to Clement, and he was again permitted to retire to Carpentras. He was one of the Ciceronians, and such was the purity of his Latinity, that his style is praised by Erasmus for its superiority to his own.* He did not join with the Ciceronians in their attack upon Erasmus; and that great scholar, in his "Ciceronianus," while censuring Longolius and Bembo† for their servile imitation of their master, commends Sadoletto for preferring ecclesiastical terms to Ciceronian words, when to circumstances or to trains of thought of which Cicero knew nothing he had occasion to advert. Sadoletto had followed the fashion of his contemporaries in early life, when they pedantically employed no words except such as were impressed with the authority of Cicero; but his own good sense by degrees induced him to assume the liberty for which he was praised by Erasmus, while the purity of his style was the admiration of all who made his writings their study.

* Ep. Erasm. 758.

† I employ the Italian name when describing or referring to any friend of Pole, except when the name has been Latinised by scholars, or when it has become familiar to our ears in an Anglican form.

His works were numerous, and they are said to have shown the extent of his reading to have been considerable. He was not without his enemies, and from his commentary on the epistles of St. Paul, they took occasion to accuse him of semi-Pelagianism, so that the book was condemned at Rome. This condemnation of his work caused no slight annoyance to Sadoletto, who corrected some expressions which had been misunderstood; and he then appealed to the pope. The pope was satisfied, and the book was declared to be catholic. The fact is curious, as it shows that in 1535, the Roman theology—not strictly defined till the Council of Trent—was at this time taking the same direction as the mind of John Calvin, for the charge against Sadoletto was that some of his expressions were irreconcilable with the doctrine of St. Augustine. Sadoletto's own liberality was remarkable. He protected the Jews who were accused of usury for taking interest, when they advanced money on loan. He lived on friendly terms with Melancthon and Calvin, though on one occasion he entered into a controversy with the latter. When, on the death of Zuingle, Erasmus was severe on that unhappy reformer, and Luther declared against him in unmeasured terms of reprobation, Sadoletto dwelt upon those points in his character which all persons could praise; and from this and other circumstances Seckendorf was assuredly justified in the praise he accorded to Sadoletto for the candour he invariably displayed, and for the Christian temper visible in all that he did.* He lost a most valuable library at the sack of Rome, from which city he had himself escaped a few weeks before.

Such was the friend in whose house at Carpentras Reginald Pole found a home for some time after he had quitted Avignon. I have given a sketch of his history and

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character, because the name of this great and good man must occasionally appear in the history of Pole.

Sadoletto's praise of the young Englishman procured for him the notice of the chief scholars in Europe, especially when his rank and expectations were known. Although the fish-market itself could scarcely supply terms sufficiently strong and coarse when the scholars of the age were engaged in controversy, their compliments were profuse and exaggerated while friendship lasted. This observation is made, that we may understand the exact value of the various passages selected by Quirini from Pole's correspondence, for the purpose of showing the high estimation in which his hero's character was held by his contemporaries.

On his return to Italy, Pole found that the reaction which had taken place in his own mind had been experienced by many who, when he was last in "that sweet and pleasant land of Italy," had been so absorbed in classical studies as to have become oblivious of their Christianity. During the pontificate of Leo X., a refined heathenism extended from his gay and graceful court to all parts of Italy; where the truths of the gospel were confounded with mythological fables. It was remarked, indeed, that although the dean of Leo's chapel would not deny the existence of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, yet he would raise to an equality with the eternal Son of God a Socrates, a Phocion, an Epaminondas, an Aristides, who were sufferers for the good of others; he could find an archetype in pagan theology for God the Father in Jupiter Optimus Maximus; for God the Son in Apollo or Æsculapius; and in discoursing on the death and sufferings of our blessed Lord and only Saviour, he would remind his hearers of Decius and Curtius, who leapt into the gulf for the salvation of their country.* The Virgin Mary was compared to Diana.

* See M'Crie, 7, 8; also Erasmi Ep. xx. 14; Ciceronianus, 39-43.

For their liberality and their learning these divines, as in courtesy they were still denominated, who taught men that it was a thing indifferent whether they worshipped Jehovah, Jove, or Lord, were applauded by the public and rewarded at court. But the dishonesty had at length become too apparent to be tolerated. Men were at liberty to confound Jupiter with the one and only God; though the Lord our God declares Himself to be a jealous God, they might propound what doctrines they might think fit; but the light at length dawned on them, and they understood that as honest men they ought, as a preliminary measure, to resign the preferments with which they had been endowed for the very purpose of upholding the truths which they now contemned. A man was not to receive honour and income for the express purpose of promulgating certain great truths,—and to retain them still, when, instead of asserting those truths, he denied before men, the Saviour who will deny him before the angels of God. This was simply a case of dishonesty, in pronouncing upon which every honourable man, whether Protestant or Papist, would agree; at all events, it caused the great and good men with whom Pole was now associated, to reflect.

The profligacy of Leo X. had caused a reaction among some of the persons connected with his court, and a society was formed which bound the members, sixty in number, to a strict morality of life and a better observance of Divine worship. It was known as the oratory of Divine Love. On the dispersion of this society, many of its members repaired to Venice, where liberty was still maintained. When Rome was sacked, when Florence had become a despotism, when Milan was a battle-field, Venice was a place of refuge for the destitute; and some of the most distinguished men in Italy found there a home.

At Venice, the fugitives from Rome came into contact

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with exiled patriots from Florence. Among the latter we are told a strong spirit of devotion was prevalent, in which the influence of Savonarola was still perceptible.

Although Pole, on his return into Italy, resided chiefly at Padua, his visits to Venice were frequent and long. Theology occupied his more serious thoughts; nevertheless he could still find recreation and amusement in the pursuits of general literature.

At Bozza, near Padua, the villa of Pietro Bembo*—the resort of all scholars—in his splendid library or in his botanical garden, Pole, in his hours of relaxation, could still discourse on philological subjects, or listen to discussions on that Ciceronian Latinity in which, as we have had frequent occasion to remind the reader, the pedantry of the age delighted to revel. Here, too, he formed the acquaintance of Gianpietro Caraffa, destined, as Paul IV., to be the bitter enemy of Pole; his persecutor, and the torment of his latter days. Caraffa was at this time a reformer, as were all the associates of Pole, and almost all the leading literary characters in Italy; but even then, Pole, a timid man except when, pen in hand, he was writing to a distant adversary, must have quailed sometimes under the sunken, flashing eye of Caraffa, who, according to Muratori, resembled the Vesuvius of his native country, always boiling up, hard, passionate, and inexorable, actuated by a zeal for religion, but a zeal which, instead of attracting, repelled the pious.† In the groves of San Georgio Maggiore, Pole pursued those investigations to which his mind was at this time more especially directed; and he imbibed wisdom from the conversation of the learned

* Hallam (*Literature of Europe*) remarks: "Among the polished writers of Italy we meet on every side with the name of Bembo, great in Italian as well as Latin literature, in prose as well as in verse."

† Ranke, ii. 1. Du Pin, Cent. XVI.

and sagacious abbot of the monastery, Gregorio Cortese. Cortese was a patristic scholar, and, though calling for a reform, was, like Pole, devoted to the supremacy of the Roman see.

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But that which more particularly endeared Padua to the heart of Pole, was the fact that here was formed his friendship with Luigi Priuli. Priuli, a native of Venice, was a man of fortune; and at his villa, not far from Treviso, Pole was accustomed to meet a company of divines, all favourably disposed to a reformation; but to a reformation which would be consistent with the primacy of the pope over the Universal Church. The two friends were never afterwards separated.* They lived together in uninterrupted friendship for twenty-six years; Priuli, regardless of preferment for himself, being anxious for the elevation of his friend, whose labours, responsibilities, and anxieties he shared, without participating in his honours.

Retiring from Venice to Padua, Pole found in Marco of Padua* a Benedictine of the profoundest piety. It is sometimes supposed, that it is to Marco of Padua that Pole alludes as the person from whom he first received the milk of the word. If to Marco he had recourse for milk, he resorted for the strong meat to one of the best, if not one of the most eminent, of his contemporaries—Gaspar Contarini, the learned and saint-like Venetian, as he was called. Of Contarini, Pole affirmed that he was ignorant of nothing that the human intellect could, by its own powers of investigation, discover; that nothing in him was wanting that the grace of God has revealed to the human soul. The sentence is, as was frequently the case in the diction of Pole, hyperbolical. It was added that,

* "Marco Musurus was a native of Crete. He was courted as a scholar and so attracted the notice of Leo X., who invited him to Rome and gave him the archbishopric of Malvasia."—Tiraboschi, vi. 394.

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with the eminence of his wisdom, Contarini united the crown of virtue. To his history we shall have occasion to recur. We would only here remark that Contarini laboured earnestly for the pacification of the Church, and that he held the same doctrine of justification by faith only which was held by Luther,* and which was still an open question in the Roman Church. Pole was at Venice when the news most unexpectedly arrived, that Contarini had been created a cardinal by Paul III. On a certain Sunday in the month of May, 1535, Contarini, the youngest of the six councillors who composed the council of the doge, was sitting by the ballot-urn, the council being about to proceed to the election of the great officers of state. It was announced that a courier had arrived from Rome, for whom immediate admission into the council-chamber was demanded. He was refused admittance, but Rannusio, the secretary, received the despatch from his hand. He immediately communicated the fact to the council, "Contarini is a cardinal." "How! a cardinal," exclaimed Contarini, in much agitation; "no, I am a councillor of Venice." The letters were opened. The news was confirmed. The report spread far and near. Friends crowded round him, when a cynical old councillor, Luigi Mocenigo, who had hitherto been his political opponent, called out from his gouty chair, "These priests have robbed the city of the best gentleman of whom it has to boast." He was attended by a troop of friends to his gondola; other gondolas following *en suite*. Reaching his home, he debated with his friends, whether he should accept the honour or not; and the debate ended as such consultations generally do. He received the tonsure; and, his hat having arrived, the new cardinal

* Du Pin, Cent. XVI. 430. Ranke, i. 104, Daniel Barbaro to Dominico Veniero. Young's Aonio Paleario, i. 258.

paid a visit of ceremony to the doge and the senate. Among those who attended to congratulate him was Reginald Pole. He observed, that he had heard and read of virtue being rewarded for its own sake, but he had never before seen it so singularly exemplified; when the pope had selected a gentleman unknown to him, at the moment when he stood so high in the estimation of his country that, if they had been called upon to name their choice, the selection would have fallen on the very man whom Paul III. had so signally honoured.

When speaking of the friends of Reginald Pole, we must not pass over the name of Benedetto Lampridio, distinguished as a philologist, and, as was the case with almost all the learned men of the day, a writer of verses, if not a poet. When Giovanni Lascari opened a Greek college at Rome, under the patronage of Leo X., he found in Lampridio so profound a scholar in the Greek and Latin classics, that he employed him as his assistant. After the death of Leo X., about the year 1521, Lampridio settled in Padua. There he found it more remunerative to take private pupils, if we may employ modern phraseology, than to become a public lecturer.

Among the eminent Venetians with whom, according to Beccatelli, Pole lived on terms of intimacy, mention must be made of Lazzarro Buonamici. He was professor of Greek and Roman Eloquence at the University of Padua. He was an adept in all the literary studies of the age, including astrology. He was employed at Rome, either in giving private lectures or as a professor in the College of the Sapienza. He was, unhappily, residing at Rome during its capture and sack in 1527, when he, as was the fate of many others, lost his library, and was himself in considerable danger. It was after this, that he became a professor, at Padua, where he remained till his death in 1552.

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Beccatelli, destined to be the Italian biographer of Pole, and Dudithius, his translator, formed part of Pole's establishment at this time or soon after. The first, having acted as Pole's secretary for several years, died Archbishop of Ragusa; the second died Bishop of Knin (Tinium) in Croatia.*

Accustomed as we are to regard Peter Martyr as a leader among Protestants, we may at first be surprised at finding him among the friends of Pole. But we may here observe the broad distinction which must be made between the Protestants and those Italian reformers among whom Pole took a prominent part. On what we may call the philosophy of Christianity—on Augustinianism—that philosophy which is based on the grand dogma of justification by faith only—both parties were agreed; and, until the Council of Trent asserted authoritatively the opposite doctrine, the most determined papist would regard the subject of justification as an open question. On this point nearly all the Italian reformers were of one mind, and maintained truly, that this great truth was compatible with a belief in the sacraments as the means of grace. The Italians did not attack the sacerdotal or the monastic system, and they asserted the supremacy of the pope. When an Italian had philosophised with the German, and the German proceeded to show how the doctrine of justification by faith only militated against all those mediæval traditions held sacred at Rome; when monasteries were denounced, and the pope was deposed from his supremacy; then a separation took place between the two parties, sometimes

* See his life in Du Pin, Cent. XVI. Wood says of Dudithius that he was Bishop of Tinienses, on which Jortin, with his usual wit, remarks, he might as well have said of Pole that he was Archbishop of Cantuariensis.

abruptly, sometimes gradually. They would all agree to fire an unshotted gun, in order that they might alarm the slumberers, and awaken the watchers of Israel to a sense of their danger and of the consequent necessity of reform; but when one party would load the guns and prepare for a spiritual sack of Rome, the Italians were found on the side of the pope; or, if they could not conscientiously support the papacy, they consulted their safety by flight. Such was the case with Peter Martyr and Ochino—the former, in his letters to Pole, assigning this as a reason for his self-expatriation. He went first to Zurich, then to Basle, and thence to Strasburg. From Strasburg he was invited to England by the protector Somerset and Archbishop Cranmer, and became professor of divinity at Oxford. On the accession of Mary, he was permitted to leave England, and died at Zurich in 1582. He was twice married, his second wife having been recommended to him by “the Italian church at Geneva.” He was a really learned man, and though on some points he would in these days have been accounted heterodox by the Church of England, his works were justly praised by the candour of Du Pin.*

Pole, when residing in Italy, was not deprived of the charm and consolation of female society. His friend Bembo, who was afterwards one of the cardinals created by Paul III., was residing, as we have said, in the neighbourhood of Padua. Being only a deacon, he was wedded to Morosina, a lady who is described as lovely in person, and with a mind sagacious and well informed; at all events she presided over his house for more than twenty years. Here she fascinated, by her elegant manners and agreeable conversation, the learned men who, coming

* Du Pin. Wood. Strype's Cranmer and Annals. Melchior Adam. Fuller, Abel Redivivus.

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from all parts of Europe, frequented Bembo's house. Bembo and Morosina found a joint labour of love in the education of their daughter; and the daughter of such parents must have made the residence at Bozza still more attractive. Pole was also intimate with another lady, who, with her husband, was proud of his friendship. Giulia Gonzaga, the wife of Vespasiano, Duke of Palliano, was eminent for her personal attractions, her moral excellence, and her intellectual acumen.

About this time, also, he must have formed a friendship which added much to the comfort of his life, and which speaks more than anything else in favour of the piety of Pole and the amiability of his character: I allude to the widow of Ferrante d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, the beautiful and accomplished Vittoria Colonna. The Marchesa di Pescara was ten years older than Pole, and when the disparity in point of age is on the spindle side it becomes more marked; so that, speaking of her in after years, Pole adverted to her in terms of filial affection and respect, regarding her in the light of a maternal friend. She was one of the most remarkable women of that or of any other age, and still holds her place among the poets of Italy. Devoted to her husband, she nursed her grief after his early death; and, in spite of the solicitations of her friends, she remained "a widow indeed" to the end of her life. Of Vittoria Colonna we shall have more to say at a later period of Pole's life. We presume that their friendship commenced at this period or soon after, for we gather from her letters that, being in an infirm state of health, she accepted an invitation from Giberti, Bishop of Verona, with whom, as we have seen, Pole entered into friendly relations during his former visit to Italy.

Giovanni Matteo Giberti was Datary to Clement VII.—the minister, that is to say, whose duty it was to date

the answers to petitions presented to the pope. He was appointed, in 1524, to the bishopric of Verona; and was one of the cardinals created by Paul III. He retired as soon as he was able from political life, and devoted himself to the management of his diocese and to theological studies. He was a friend of the illustrious Contarini, and among the Italian reformers he held a high place.

Contarini, while he lived, was the spiritual adviser of Vittoria Colonna; and, on his death, she gave her confidence to Reginald Pole. In the man to whom she could open her whole heart, replete with all the sensitiveness of aspiring piety, there must have been a fund of spiritual wisdom, and a soul capable of sympathy. In writing to Contarini's sister, Seraphina, after her brother's death, she says to the nun: "If you condescend to give your commands, do so as laying them upon the true and obliged servant of that most true and perfect brother of yours, my guide. I have now no other spiritual guide than Monseignor, the English Cardinal, his true and intimate friend, his more than brother." *

An intimacy with Vittoria Colonna implied an acquaintance with the illustrious Michael Angelo Buonarroti. He was old enough to be her father, and she possessed over him all the power which an affectionate daughter might be supposed to exercise over a parent, whom she gently leads on, step by step, to virtue. "I was born," said Michael Angelo, "a rough model; and it was for her to reform and to remake me." She, herself a sufferer, found him out when the heart of that great but humble-minded man—the man of his age—was lacerated by domestic afflictions. She knew him to be the first artist, sculptor, and architect of the age; she found him

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* Lettere Volgari, i. 208.

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to be also a poet, only second to herself. In her own deep sorrows she had sought spiritual advice from Pole; and that Pole became the friend of her friend we can have no doubt, though I do not remember that this appears from Pole's correspondence.

Pole occasionally accompanied Contarini on a visit to their common friend Morone, Bishop of Modena. Giovanni Morone, though opposed to Lutheranism, was nevertheless, at this time, one of the leading reformers of Italy. He belonged to a noble family, and was a native of Milan. He was educated by private tutors in his father's parish, and afterwards in the University of Padua. He was ordained in 1529, and soon after he was consecrated to the see of Modena. He was employed as a legate by the Roman see on several important occasions; among them, at the Diet of Spires in the year 1541, and at Ratisbon in 1542. He was one of the many eminent men who were created cardinals by Paul III. He succeeded Contarini in the Legation of Bologna, and was one of the presidents at the re-opening of the Council of Trent. As was the case with Pole and some other eminent men, he was at one time accused of heresy; and by Paul IV. he was actually thrown into prison, and examined before the Inquisition. The chief charge brought against him was that he had Lutheran publications in his house, and that he had read them. On the death of his persecutor he was liberated, and was declared by the inquisitors to be free from all heretical taint. Certain specific charges are said to have been brought against him, but we may consider these as not proven, or he would not have received from the Inquisition that testimony to his orthodoxy which has just been stated. It is probable that he spoke at one time with great freedom of the corruptions of the Church of Rome, as men had been

accustomed to do at least for a century without being censured by authority. But, alarmed by the spread of Lutheranism, the authorities at Rome were becoming every day more strict, antecedently to passing of those strict definitions which, in the Council of Trent, converted Mediævalism into Romanism, and changed the Church of Rome into a sect. Morone, after the death of Paul IV., was not only restored to liberty, but was also taken into favour. He was employed on several missions by Pius V., and had a good chance of the papacy when, by the death of Pius IV., the papal throne was vacant. He was sent as legate to the Council of Trent in 1563; and he is said to have contributed to its peaceful termination by a union of firmness, of energy, and of a conciliatory temper. Although he must have changed his opinion on the subject of justification, his attendance on the concluding sessions of the Council of Trent is no proof of his having ceased to be a reformer. The Council of Trent was convened for the reformation of the Church, and hence Morone may have maintained his consistency. But although this may be urged in his defence, we are inclined to think that he was one of those who can speak of reform when there is no danger of personal inconvenience, but who are unwilling to make the smallest sacrifice even for essential truth. He seems, in point of fact, to have been a time-server, and is described in a Spanish manuscript, quoted by Mendham in his "History of the Council of Trent," as *hombre doblado*: this, which signifies literally a double man, is said by Blanco White to mean, in Spanish, dark and treacherous. At the time under consideration, the bad parts of his character had not made their appearance. He was the friend of some of the most distinguished reformers in Italy, and would with them, doubtless, have reformed the Church

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on their model—if this could have been accomplished with safety to himself. At this time “the new learning,” as it was called in England, was popular among the middle classes; and although the decree of the Inquisition, which reckons three thousand schoolmasters as adherents to it, is probably an exaggeration, yet, as Ranke observes, supposing the number to have been smaller, how great must have been its influence on the rising generation and on the mass of the people! Morone’s court was the resort of reformers, until he was astounded by hearing, that a report had reached Rome that his diocese was filled with Lutherans. A reform of the curia, the cardinals, and the conclave, even a modification of dogma, was popular, until it was seen that, by an attack on the papacy, Italy would lose the prestige which she now possessed in all the nations of Europe.*

Morone, however, must have been at this time sincere, for he could hardly have deceived such a man as Contarini, whose perceptions were as acute as his integrity was unimpeachable.

At Verona, Reginald Pole became acquainted with Marco Antonio Flaminio, who was assistant to Don Girolando di Modena, the president of the academy in that city. In forming an estimate of Pole’s character, we must not forget the deep attachment evinced towards him by such men as Priuli and Flaminio and by some others. These two in particular were devoted to him, and Priuli more particularly. They neither of them would accept favours from Pole; and Priuli, a man of fortune, left his home and his country, as we have before remarked,

* In Schelhorn’s *Amœnitat. Literar.* (xii. 564) may be found the *Articuli contra Moronum*, published by Vergerio in 1558. They are translated in Mrs. Young’s interesting *Life of Aonio Paleario*, a work of considerable research and great fairness.

to form part of Pole's establishment, or rather found his home and his country wherever Reginald Pole took up his abode; his service he would never quit, and declined the offer when Pole expressed a wish to make him his heir. Pole was a good hater, but he was also a good lover. Marco Antonio Flaminio was one of the most remarkable among the many remarkable characters, at that time reflecting honour upon Italy. He was born at Saravalle, near Treviso, in the year 1498. He was, like most of his contemporaries in Italy, a poet; and, under his father's tuition, he obtained in early life such a reputation for classical studies that he was patronised by Leo X. But although his father would not offend the pontiff, when the latter invited Flaminio to Rome, by refusing to let him go, the dissipations and immoralities of the papal court were such as to fill the father with alarm and, fortunately for him, the son with disgust. Flaminio quitted the papal court as soon as possible. The pretext for removing him was his father's desire that he should pursue his studies at Bologna. He declined the office of pontifical secretary, which was offered to him by Leo, and accepted a situation in the family of Giberti. His health was delicate, and the bishop gave him a charming villa on the Lago di Garda. His health still failing him, he passed some time at Naples, where he was edified by the preaching of Valdes, and obtained the notice of Vittoria Colonna. He afterwards formed one of the household of Pole, who was deeply attached to him, as a father to a son, and admitted that by the piety of Flaminio his own devotional feelings had been quickened. After a long illness, in which Pole nursed him with paternal tenderness and care, he died at Pole's house in Rome in the year 1550. He did not entirely escape the persecution of Paul IV., for his works were prohibited in the Index

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Purgatorio of that pontiff. Among those works the best known is an exposition of the Psalms, the dogmatic contents of which, according to Ranke, have been approved by many Protestant writers. But as confirmatory of what has been said before—that if in dogma the Italian reformers approached the Protestants, the two factions were always separated by the adhesion of the Italians to the papacy—I may remark, that to this very work Flaminio prefixed a dedication in which he spoke of the pope as “the Watchman and Prince of all holiness, the Vicegerent of God upon earth.”

He thus wrote probably at the prompting of Pole, who certainly took credit to himself for having prevented Flaminio from following the example of Ochino and becoming a Protestant.

Pole was not, however, always so successful. In alluding to the very remarkable persons to be found in the society in which Pole now held a high place, and who were still his friends and associates when he resided at Viterbo, we must not pass by, without noticing, the name of Pietro Carnesecchi. He was a Florentine, and came of a good family. He became acquainted with Pole through Sadoletto and Bembo, by both of whom his talents and powers of application were praised before he was known to the world. Attached, as a Florentine, to the Medici family, he was preferred by Clement VII., with whom he soon became so great a favourite that it was only by his modesty, tact, and sense of justice that he escaped the perils to which favourites are usually exposed. He was first private secretary and then prothonotary to Clement. On the death of Clement, he spent his time in visiting the different universities of Italy, and in adding to his stock of knowledge by research in the public libraries as well as by conversation with men of learning. Although his opinions

were influenced considerably by Valdes during a residence at Naples, we are told that he was deeply indebted also to the teaching of Pole and Flaminio ; he became indoctrinated with their views of justification, the distinguishing tenet of the party. So boldly did he assert his opinions, that he found it expedient, for a season, to leave the country ; and, in foreign parts, having conversed with German reformers, he was confirmed in the doctrines he had heard from Pole. Adhering, however, to the papal supremacy, he thought he might, without risk, at length return to Italy ; but by Paul IV. he was excommunicated. When Pius IV., a member of the Medicean family, succeeded to the papal throne, the friends of Carnesecchi had sufficient influence to obtain from the new pope a reversal of the sentence of excommunication pronounced by his predecessor, without requiring, on the part of Carnesecchi, any abjuration of his opinions. His seeking for absolution is sufficient to prove, that he still held the principle upon which Pole and his friends continued to act—loyalty to the pope ; but he could not conceal the fact, that he maintained a dogma of justification which, though held by the last of the fathers, St. Bernard, and by the first of the schoolmen, St. Anselm, was opposed to the mediæval dogma of justification by an infused inherent righteousness, and therefore to what eventually became, through the Council of Trent, the sectarian dogma of the Romish Church. Finding himself obnoxious at Rome, he retired to his native Florence, and placed himself under the protection of Cosmo, who became, in 1569, the Grand Duke of Tuscany. This man promised his protection ; but to win the favour of the pope, at a time when it was his policy to secure the papal support, he had the baseness to deliver up his guest to the emissaries of Pius V. His victim was handed over to the Inquisition, was con-

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demned as a heretic, and on the 3rd of October, 1567, Carnesecchi died a martyr. He was first beheaded, and his body was then committed to the flames.

I have given a slight sketch of the history of the immediate friends of Pole, since there is truth in the saying, "*Noscitur a sociis.*"

It has perplexed historians to account for the sudden, almost instantaneous conversion of Pole from a peaceful, happy student into a fierce, a furious polemic. During the four years which elapsed between the time when Pole left his native country, and the time when he commenced his treatise "*De Unitate*," great political and ecclesiastical changes had been going on in England—those very changes by which Pole's wrath was afterwards especially excited. The clergy were restrained from making constitutions except in convocation with the king's assent: the payment of firstfruits to Rome was forbidden, and the money was to be made over to the king: the royal supremacy had been admitted by convocation before Pole left England; and, among the inconsistencies of his career, it is to be remarked, that if he did not actually vote on the occasion, yet to the assertion of the supremacy he must at least have given a tacit assent. We can only urge in his defence—and it is a sufficient defence—that he had not been called upon to consider the subject, and that he had only followed as his superiors led the way. Parliament, following convocation, gave the sanction of the law to the king's resumption of what he maintained was his inherited right as a Catholic king; a Catholic king being supreme, within his own realm, over all causes and persons ecclesiastical and civil. The papal power in England had now been, in truth, entirely set aside by act of parliament as well as by the deed of convocation. All payments to the apostolic chamber had become illegal,

and it was enacted that "all dispensations or licences, not contrary to the law of the land," shall in future be granted within the kingdom by the two archbishops; the exemption of monasteries from episcopal visitation was confirmed, but they were—evidently with a view to their suppression in whole or in part—rendered liable to visitation by commissioners appointed under the great seal, for the king; offenders were to incur the penalties of the statutes of provisors and præmunire; the divorce of the king from Queen Katharine was an accomplished fact, and the king's mistress had taken possession of her throne; the reign of terror—for such the ministry of Crumwell really was—had commenced; and for an account of the atrocities committed, under the name of Protestantism, the reader is referred to the introductory chapter. Not only was the royal supremacy asserted, but, in order to enforce it, new offences were made high treason by acts of parliament. Amongst these, were the attempting or wishing any bodily harm to the king, the queen, or the royal issue; the denying of any of their titles—such as the Supreme Head—to the king, and the slandering of any members of the royal family as heretics. Under legal forms, an irresponsible despotism was established; and to anyone suspected of denying the royal supremacy the oath might be tendered; upon a refusal to take it, the unhappy victim of oppression was doomed to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. In 1535, Houghton, Webster, and Laurens, priors of Carthusian houses, two priests and a monk (Fearn, Hales, and Reynolds), were convicted of treason for speaking against the king's marriage and the supremacy. For the same cause Bishop Fisher and three Carthusians (Middlemore, Exmew, and Newdygate), and the illustrious Sir Thomas More himself, were convicted.

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Under all these circumstances, Pole was silent. No murmur, no remonstrance, no protest escaped him. Of all political events, those on which he felt most deeply were those which related to the divorce and the supremacy; but when Pole adverted to English affairs, it was only to express his gratitude to the king. He was enjoying his literary leisure—his *otium cum dignitate*—in Italy, and left it to be inferred, that if he did not cordially approve, he did not feel called upon to condemn, the proceedings of the English government. His conduct is perplexing. He was regarded as a devoted servant, a grateful kinsman of the king. Such was the impression that Pole permitted to remain on the minds of all who approached him, down to the very eve of his commencing his treatise “De Unitate.”

It has hitherto been impossible to answer the question which occurs to the mind of an attentive reader, why the whole of this policy was suddenly, and at this time without assignable reason, reversed; why the king ceased to be content with the friendly neutrality of Pole, and why Pole should, at this precise period, after having so long professed to love him as his benefactor, become his most violent and vindictive assailant. Documents have lately come to light which, condemnatory of Pole, nevertheless enable us to answer these questions.

Among the Simancas papers, there is a letter written in cipher to the emperor by his minister at Venice, Martin Zornoza. It is dated the 4th of August, 1534.* The

* See the very interesting report of Mr. Duffus Hardy, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, upon the documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice, p. 69. So much depends on the date of this letter that, unwilling to attribute conduct so dishonourable to Pole without enquiry, I requested Mr. Hardy to ascertain through Mr. Bergenroth whether there was not some error in the transcript, and whether we might not read 1543 for 1534. In the year first mentioned Pole was

minister informs his imperial master of his having made the acquaintance of Reginald Pole, who had confided to him his political plans and aspirations. He expatiates on the various good qualities of Pole, whose manners seem to have fascinated all who approached him. He spoke of his blood royal, of his affinity to the crown of England; with a view of showing that this tender of his services to the emperor was not to be at once rejected or despised. He mentions, that the discontent in England occasioned by the conduct of the king was great, and that with persons planning an insurrection Pole was in correspondence. If the emperor would only give a little help to the great-nephew of Edward IV., he might place England at the disposal of Charles.

Charles V. knew England better than Zornoza or Pole, and was aware, that if there was a powerful minority in England discontented with the existing state of things, there was also an armed majority ready to support the king; and that, by anything like foreign interference, the minority would be reduced to nothing. All parties under such circumstances would have united; and the invader would have found England invincible. No encouragement was therefore given to Pole, no promise to further his plans. But Charles, though slow to act, was always willing to hear: and the correspondence in favour of Pole was reopened in June and July, 1535. Contarini wrote to the emperor on the 5th of June, stating that having known Pole for many years by reputation, he had lately made his personal acquaintance. Of a pious Christian he declares Pole to be the very pattern, whose earnest desire

in open hostility to Henry, and whether he was right or wrong in seeking foreign aid, he would not by doing so have been acting dishonourably. Mr. Bergenroth only confirms the fact, that the proper date of the letter is 1534, when the relations of Pole with Henry were of a friendly character.

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it was to be a soldier of the true faith. He was afraid of no danger, and would be glad, like the primitive Christians, to suffer, if need be, for Jesus Christ. He declares Pole's intention to be to return to England, and to induce the king, by retracing his steps, to avert the danger to which he was now exposed. He calls upon the emperor, whose office it was to render help to all the nations of the earth, to extend his protection to Reginald Pole.

On the 15th of July, another letter came from Martin Zornoza, in which he enlarges on the services which Pole, by directing the movements of the revolutionary party in England, might render the emperor. Enclosed in Zornoza's letter was one from Pole himself. He is much more guarded in his expressions than his friend, by whom he may probably have been misunderstood. He did not speak of dethroning the king, but he promised to remove all causes of displeasure which the emperor may have entertained against England. If Pole excelled most men in powers of vituperation when assaulting an opponent, even when that opponent was a king, he was not behindhand in the arts of flattery, in an age when to flatter a friend, and especially a prince, was the invariable custom. As Henry was everything that was base in Pole's eyes, when a quarrel had arisen between them, so Charles was to Pole at this time as an angel from God. The letter of Pole is written with bad pale ink, but the date and signature are added with good dark ink, exactly corresponding to the ink which the consul Zornoza used. Mr. Bergenroth therefore thinks it probable, that Pole having composed his letter in his own house, brought it to the consul's, where, after obtaining his approval, he signed it.

The emperor does not appear to have entertained a very high opinion of "the Englishman who stays in

Venice." He was also opposed to the suggestion, that to render Pole powerful, he should encourage his aspiration to the hand of his cousin of England, for Charles had already promised the hand of Mary and the throne of England to the Infante of Portugal, Don Luis. From this it would appear, that while Pole was at least professing neutrality to Henry, he was attempting to organize, or wished his continental friends to suppose so, an insurrection against the king's government in England: he was seeking for foreign assistance to enable his partisans to depose the king. We observe, moreover, that for this assistance, or for a pledge of its being granted, he became more urgent, when he began to suspect that his treachery had been discovered or surmised.

We are not to judge Pole, however, by the principles of the nineteenth century, nor by those which have been prevalent in England subsequently to the accession of the Stuarts. In his "De Unitate" he repeatedly affirms the right of England to rise at any time in insurrection, in order that, when the country was damaged by misgovernment, the king might be compelled either to change his ministers, or if he refused to listen to the just remonstrances of an armed majority of his people, to be himself subjected to deposition. Whether this were constitutional or not—this right of insurrection—it had been, and it continued to be, the custom of the country until the ascendancy of that system of government which depends upon a parliamentary majority. An insurrection seems to have been considered illegitimate until it was headed by some of the nobility; when so headed, it was supposed that the king ought to yield to the will of the two orders acting in harmony: or if he would not yield, then the question must be tried, not as now by a parliamentary vote, but by force of arms. When an insurrection headed by the nobility was in arms,

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its leaders felt themselves to be as much justified as the king himself, in forming foreign alliances. They might invoke the aid of the foreigner to enable them to assert their rights and liberties, or to place another branch of the royal family which had descended from Cerdic on the throne. The last application of this principle occurred in the Revolution of 1688. There was a traitor king upon the throne, a man who, in spite of oaths and pledges to the contrary, was determined to corrupt the Church, and enslave the nation; and foreign troops were for the last time seen in England, summoned by the people to aid them in defence of their rights and liberties against a king, himself conspiring against his people and in treaty for that purpose with the foreigner. Henry VIII. himself had admitted this principle, though he was not called upon by circumstances to act upon it. It was doubted, at least by Ferdinand, King of Spain, whether the Tudors were strong enough to maintain their dynasty; the King of Spain therefore offered troops and a general to Henry VIII., to enable him, if the people disputed his right to the throne, to hand on to his posterity the crown which his father had placed on his own head at Bosworth. If the king might employ foreign aid to secure his throne, the people might assuredly employ the same means to accomplish their object, when, as against an oppressive government, they declared war in defence of life, liberty, and property. If Pole had courted the foreigner to invade the country when the country was in itself at peace, he would have been proceeded against as a traitor; but when the country was in a state of insurrection, he may have thought he was acting as a patriot, when seeking assistance to aid the weak against the strong.

But after conceding all this, and more than this, we must still regard Pole's conduct at this juncture as base in

the extreme ; and throughout his history, we find cause to complain of a want of straightforwardness in his character, which led not merely to the deception of others, but to previous self-deception also. His policy was always aggressive, and yet we find him representing himself, and probably supposing himself to be, the person injured, meekly bearing unmerited persecution : on referring to his past conduct, as in his celebrated letter to Charles V., although, perhaps, he does not purposely misrepresent the facts, yet he so colours them as to falsify them : in correcting his writings, his mind is so unconsciously dishonest that he imagines, and would have his reader to believe, that his sentiments were the same when he first penned a paragraph as they were when, after the lapse of years, he revised it, though the revision is sometimes a direct alteration of the original statement. Of an unconsciously dishonest mind, of a mind habituated to self-deception in its desire to represent itself as heroic and saintlike when actually it was mean and worldly, we have a remarkable example, not only in the interpolations which add to the obscurity of the “*De Unitate* ;” but also in a perpetual and ineffectual struggle to make it appear, that he was still grateful to Henry for past benefits, at the very time when his hatred of his benefactor appears at every recurrence of his name. We often find, as in his case, a suavity of manners attended by violence of temper under circumstances of provocation ; and we certainly cannot say that Pole’s patriotism was neither warped by prejudice nor tainted by faction ; we must affirm, that he was as often staggered by imaginary dangers as by real ones.

With these observations we enter upon the consideration of Pole’s political career ; thence we shall regard him in his character of a reformer and a man of letters ; lastly, we shall proceed to the events which have invested

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the last two years of his life with an historical interest. In speaking of Pole's political character, we may observe and lament, that it sometimes happens that a man of strict morality in the private concerns of life, appears to be oblivious of principle in his public transactions. It was once said by a man of scrupulous integrity in his private transactions, when he was detected in a deviation from truth, that in an election all things are lawful. The tendency of an election to demoralise the country is to be deplored, not denied.

It is not to be supposed that the correspondence between the friends of Pole and the Emperor Charles V. escaped the penetration of the spies, whose business it was to watch the proceedings of the Spanish and Imperial court. But the nature of the correspondence, and the end the writers had in view, could only be matter of conjecture. Although Pole himself wrote to the emperor, his letter was enclosed in that of the consul. Evident care was taken to keep everything secret. The proceedings, however, of the English government were diplomatic and cautious, such as we might expect in a ministry over which Crumwell presided.

The attempt was first made to get Pole into the hands of the king. A kind and friendly wish was therefore expressed both by the king and by the minister, that Pole should return to his native land, and not waste his acquirements in the desert air of foreign realms. Into such a trap as this Reginald was much too wise and on his guard to fall.

When it appeared improbable that Pole would come to England, there to put his head between the jaws of the lion's mouth, the king desired that an argumentative treatise from the pen of Dr. Sampson should be sent to him, in which it was proved that the pope had no legal

jurisdiction in England, and in which the royal supremacy was asserted. Pole's character stood high as a scholar, and he might be expected to write more powerfully than Dr. Sampson. Pole had been educated at the king's expense, and the king, therefore, had a right to demand his literary services. He was required to write on the same side.

Sampson's book was regarded as a public document. The author, who became, in 1536, Bishop of Chichester, was a weak and vacillating man himself; but he had been assisted in this composition by the leading divines in England, and the work is powerfully written. The case was argued on scriptural and patristic grounds.*

The anxiety which was at this precise period evinced, to compel Pole to declare himself, and to ascertain, if possible, what his opinions had been in Italy, must be attributed to the rumour of that correspondence between Pole and the Spanish court, of which mention has just been made. Dr. Starkey, a friend of Pole's, had, not long before, returned to England from Italy. He had lived with Pole on intimate terms, and he said he loved him as a brother. Crumwell thought that he might be of service to the government, and introduced him to the king, by whom he was appointed one of his chaplains. He was cross-examined about Pole's opinions, and he assured the king, that Pole's one great desire was to do his majesty true and laudable service. While writing through his friends Zornoza and Contarini, and, indeed, in his own hand, to the emperor, so completely had Pole concealed his political opinions from all but a chosen few, that Starkey hesitated not to declare that, "touching the discerning between God's laws and man's,

* The sermon was published in English and in Latin, and may be found in Strype, Memorials, I. pt. i. 236; Appendix xlii.

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Pole would stretch and extend all his power and knowledge which, by the goodness of God and his grace's liberality, he had obtained, and would gladly confer to the maintaining of such things as his grace's wisdom, by consent of parliament therein, had decreed, to the honour of his highness and the wealth of his realm."*

The king was not likely to be satisfied with these vague statements; and he saw in Starkey a man who, in his vanity, boasted of an intimacy, when in point of fact he was little more than an ordinary acquaintance; and one also who had been much fascinated by Pole's condescension and courtesy. He desired Starkey, therefore, to write to Pole, requiring him "in regard to the divorce and supremacy, to leave all political considerations to the king's wisdom and policy, and to declare his sentence truly and plainly, without colour or cloud of dissimulation."

The tone and style of this dictated letter show, that suspicions of Pole's double dealing had already obtained possession of the king's mind.

Crumwell sent a message at the same time, urging Pole's return to England, whatever might be his judgment on the subjects under discussion. Starkey added a letter from himself, to supply Pole with arguments in the event of his wishing to comply with the royal command, without being fully acquainted with the merits of the case.

Pole was at Venice when these letters arrived in Italy. Absent from his books, he remarked that he could not write at once, but he promised to obey the king's commands on his return to Padua. The promised letter was not sent. Pole was evidently becoming more aware of the dilemma in which he was placed. He pretended that he was waiting for further instructions from Crumwell, whose letters were

* Cotton. MSS. Cleop. E. vi. p. 361.

to be conveyed by an ambassador on his way to Venice. At length he despatched a short answer, dated July 3rd, 1535, scarcely a fortnight before the letter addressed by Pole to the emperor, to which attention has been called. In the letter to Starkey he spoke of his affection for the king, and of his desire to serve him; he said that in writing, as the king desired, on the divorce and the supremacy, he would discard all human authority, and be influenced by the authority of Scripture only. Starkey, who apparently had begun to be suspicious of Pole, replied to this letter, expressing his conviction, that if Pole kept his promise of abiding by Scripture, he would see how strongly the king's case was supported by Divine authority. As Pole was still silent, Starkey wrote again, and argued against the papal supremacy. "If," he said, "I have any judgment in divinity, this I dare to say, that this superiority, of long time given to the pope, *which was only by patience of princes et tacito quodam Christiani populi consensu*, by process of time has grown in, as a thing convenient, to the conservation of Christian unity; but in no case of such necessity, that, without the same, Christian men may not attain to their salvation, nor keep the spiritual unity." Having thus clearly stated the position taken by the Church of England, he then goes on to defend the conduct of Crumwell's government in the cruel persecutions which, more than anything else, had really damaged the royal cause. Several letters passed between Pole and his English friends, which left the impression in England, that although Pole condemned the foreign policy of Henry, as likely to create a hostile feeling among the continental powers, yet he was preparing an elaborate defence of the king's conduct in regard to the two great topics. The king did not choose to have his policy questioned, and he saw that Pole was

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avoiding the point in hand. Starkey, therefore, was directed to write to Pole again. We possess the original letter, which may be regarded as a State paper. It evidently contained the ultimatum of the English government.

Pole was required to write explicitly: "The king, as I have written, requireth your learned judgment, and that you should leave your prudent and witty policy till you are required. The points be these, which, though you right well of your ownself know, yet I will put them a little after my mind before your eyes:—I. *An matrimonium cum relictâ fratris ab eo cognita sit jure divino licitum?*" On this point he dilates, and in the course of his argument he denies that the power of dispensing with any Catholic law was ever vested in the pope by a general council. "The second principal matter is, *An superioritas quam multis in sæculis Romanus Pontifex sibi vindicavit sit ex jure divino?*" This point is also very briefly and clearly argued. Besides the work of Sampson on these two points, a treatise by Bishop Gardyner was also forwarded to Pole, on which he had sought the opinion of Contarini—whose judgment was the easy judgment of a party man, that the arguments were specious, but invalid.

Pole had by this time become convinced that he could keep on the mask no longer. He knew not how far his correspondence with the emperor had been divulged; he knew that the most iniquitous persecutions were going on in England; he was in correspondence with a large party ready for revolt, and prepared to receive him as a leader, if an opportunity should occur for placing himself at their head; he was irritated by the distrust evinced towards him by Henry, and the more so as he was conscious of his own duplicity and treachery; he was weary

of living a lie. He was, moreover, rendered by circumstances independent of the king. His friend Alexander Farnese, Bishop of Ostia, had been crowned pope, under the name and the title of Pope Paul III., on the 7th of November, 1534. From him he might expect preferment, and he would have a claim upon the patronage of "the Holy See," if, for the sake of the papacy, he sacrificed his prospects in England. The pope, like Pole, had been a reformer, and his reformation principles Pole might retain. But although he was doctrinally nearer to Luther than Henry, yet to Luther Pole was opposed, because the latter sought a reformation through an exertion of papal authority, and not by the denial of the papal supremacy, which, on the contrary, he was determined to uphold.

Pole had now been fairly challenged. He determined to accept the challenge. He proceeded with deliberation, and by his long deliberation he gained time. At length, by the appearance of his treatise, "De Unitate,"* he broke down the floodgates by which his violent and vindictive feelings had hitherto been dammed up. The torrent of his indignation and wrath knew no bounds. We are well aware how violent may be the feelings of hostility, as exhibited against their former friends by men who have changed their party in politics, how bitter is the hatred which has superseded love. We are not surprised, therefore, at the vindictive temper displayed by Pole in this treatise, and in his other writings; but when we remem-

* The work is referred to under a variety of titles. It is, perhaps, more frequently mentioned than read. It was some time before I could procure a copy, for the work is very scarce. A copy sold at Lord Guildford's sale for £25 4s. My copy was procured for me, not without difficulty, by my friend Mr. Bain, the bookseller. The title is, *De ecclesiasticæ unitatis defensione libri quatuor ad Henricum Octavum Britannicæ Regem*. I shall refer to it, for the sake of convenience, as the *De Unitate*.

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ber, that in this vindictive temper he indulged before Henry had stained his hands with the blood of those nearest and dearest to Pole's heart, we regret to find, that the recollection of the benefits he had received from the king, and to which he frequently refers, had not the effect of moderating his expressions. The extreme violence of his language was remarked upon by Contarini, and others among his Italian friends, and defended upon the ground, that softer words would have made no impression upon Henry's heart. This, too, we must admit, was the general impression among his contemporaries. In modern times, polemics are careful, when ascribing by insinuation the most base and dishonourable and ignoble motives to their opponents, to speak of them as honourable gentlemen or noble lords. The custom has this advantage, that it renders reconciliation more easy. But in Pole's time, it was supposed, that the best method of deterring men from behaviour disapproved by the author or speaker was to revile them in the strongest language, and to compare them in their conduct to the vilest of mankind or the most noisome animal. It is not fair to censure Pole for the foul language with which he assails Henry, and at the same time to forget the equally strong language employed by Henry himself in his controversy with Luther. Even in mere literary controversy the same course was pursued. We have, on a former occasion, animadverted on the contumelious language with which the Ciceronians bespattered Erasmus, because Erasmus supposed that good Latin might be written by men who were not the servile imitators of Cicero.

Pole was himself mixed up with the Ciceronian pedants, though they had become less intolerant when he entered literary life, than they had been at the close of the 15th century. Because he was associated with several of the

classical scholars who had formed the pedantic court of Leo X., it has been customary with some critics to attribute to Pole the praise due to a good style, and to speak of his Ciceronian Latinity. It may be suspected, however, that such critics never attempted to wade through his verbose sentences, or to follow the argument of the ill-arranged treatise, "De Unitate." A phrase peculiar to Cicero here and there, such as schoolboys select to adorn their exercises, may be discovered; but, if Cicero were distinguished for any one thing more than another, it was for his lucid order; and it is scarcely possible, from its want of order, to give an analysis of Pole's work. In some whole paragraphs we find nothing but a diarrhœa of meaningless words.

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A reason for this may possibly be assigned. There can be little doubt that the printed copies of the "De Unitate" differ from the copy originally sent to Henry VIII. It is substantially the same in all the editions, but it was not printed by authority until after the king's death; and when he was revising it, Pole, as his manner was, could not refrain from adding sentences here and there, having regard to his own excited feelings rather than the exigencies of the composition. This has produced a marvellous jumble of sentiment and argument. What belongs to the second book is foisted into the first, to be reproduced, without apparent object, in the third. The polemical opponents of Pole were not men of high literary pretension; but, on comparing their compositions with that of Pole, we must admit their superiority.

The "De Unitate" is divided into four books. In the exordium the author asserts, that he felt a reluctance to write, and only did so in obedience to the royal command. When he had decided upon writing, his next difficulty was to decide upon the character in which he was to approach

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the king. He determines at length, to treat the king as a sick man (though some persons regarded him as already spiritually defunct*), and he would act towards him as a physician, using caustic remedies to meet the dangerous condition of the patient. He makes one apology for writing against the king which is almost ludicrous. To the king's benevolence he was indebted for his education: the result of a good education was his superiority as a man of learning; he was called upon to apply the king's gift to bring back the diseased monarch to sanity of mind. This he does by exhausting the vocabulary of abusive language, and by comparing Henry to every person whom or thing which people are accustomed to regard with abhorrence or disgust.

Always desirous of representing himself as a kind of martyr, and anxious at the same time to insinuate the tyranny of Henry's government, he implies that he takes the course he is pursuing at the peril of his life. He accuses the king of having violated the constitution of his country, and, by making himself head of the Church, of creating a many-headed monster.

After this he proceeds to an attack upon the treatise "On the Supremacy," written by Dr. Sampson, to which allusion has been already made, and which was designed to supply Pole with arguments, if he could be prevailed

* "An ergo tuum istum animi morbum sic dissimulem me scire, ut ne nomen quidem profari audeam, præsertim cum reliqui omnes, factorum tuorum atrocitate commoti, ita de re sentiant et passim loquantur, ut jam non ægrotare, sed plane animam egisse dicant, et eo tempore extremum vitæ spiritum efflase, cum sancti illi viri a te sunt vita privati, tum enim securim illam, quæ eis vitam eripuisse videatur, re aut^{em} vera immortalitatem attulerit, per eorum cervices actam, in ipsa animi tui vitalia penetrasse, ac tibi (quod magno cum dolore refero) æternam mortem intulisse, ut a nemine, nisi a solo Deo, ad vitam revocari possi^{et}." —De Unitate, iii.

upon to take the king's side. Sampson's book, though not the work of a man of genius, yet for terseness of style and logical argument it affords a strong contrast to the production of Pole. The latter is not more complimentary to Sampson than he is to the king, and denying that he has any resemblance to his namesake in Scripture, he calls him Goliath defying the armies of the living God; and thus he would represent himself as David going forth against him in the power of the Lord. He attributes to him sordid motives, and compares him to Judas Iscariot: Judas betrayed Christ, Sampson the Vicar of Christ.

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The line taken by Pole, in the first book of the treatise, is to magnify the priestly office, and to show its superiority over the monarchical. The king is created by the people, the priest is appointed by God; to the king the priest acts as a spiritual father, and a father hath pre-eminence over his son.* This argument appears peculiar to Pole, and was probably not considered influential, as it does not appear prominently in the controversies of the day. It belongs to the department of rhetoric rather than to that of logic. It afforded Pole, however, an opportunity of again pointing his guns directly at Henry, who is compared to all the worst tyrants of antiquity, not omitting

* "Sacerdos ergo tanquam vir populi cum sit erga regem patris personam gerit omnibus vero modis majorem Rege ^{esse}, vel illud Pauli confirmat, cum dicit majorem a minore non benedici. Sacerdotem vero Regi benedicere et eundem inungere, ut regio in solio constituat omnibus est manifestum. Quæ omnia sunt quasi patris, et prorsus majoris officia, qui cum ad extremum populi curam Regi committit dum ipse ab utroque se-motus munere suo, cum supremo omnium Rege fungitur: perinde facere videtur, ac si pater uxoris ætate jam propectæ curam una cum rei familiaris et totius domus gubernatione, filio jam adulto committeret dum ipse apud Principem, a quo totius familiæ salus dependeret, maxime necessario munere procul a domo fungeretur."—De Unitate, xxvi.

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Lucifer, whose ambition was of a similar character. There is much of this kind of puerile rhetoric by which Pole thought to terrify the king.

As the first book is an attack on the royal supremacy, the second consists of a defence of the papal prerogative. He resumes his argument against Sampson, upon whom he is severe for asserting the important truth, namely, that the Bishop of Rome has no more authority in England, than the Archbishop of Canterbury has in Rome. This assertion exasperated Pole the more, since his opponent affirmed the principle to be so universally received in England, that if King Henry were himself disposed to re-establish the papal authority, the people of England would never permit it.

Pole obtained a partial triumph over Sampson through the carelessness of the latter, in endorsing the weak argument of an English writer, who would deny the papal authority by referring to the wicked lives that had been led by many of the popes. Pole of course pointed out the distinction to be made between the commissioned officer and the sinful man by whom the office was held; and he referred to the case of those persons who had refused to give heed to the Pharisees, because many were hypocrites, together with our Lord's reproof, when He desired the people to obey the lawful commands of the Pharisees, sitting as they did on Moses' seat. He shows, that if the principle thus adduced were once admitted, there was not a sovereign in Europe who ought not to be deposed.

His other arguments consist of the commonplaces generally employed on the papal side, stated with pedantry, and rendered scarcely intelligible by the evident interpolations subsequently introduced for the purpose of vituperating the king and the bishop.

In the third book, we have a nearer approach to regularity and order. His attack on the king is more circumstantial. Looking to the act rather than the intention, he affirms that Henry, in his proceedings against Katharine, proclaimed to the world his own iniquity. If his marriage with her was incestuous, he had been living in incest for nearly twenty years. He denies, however, that Henry was really prompted to seek the divorce by conscientious motives; and he accuses him of yielding simply to the suggestions of his evil passions and sensuality: and here comes the point, which has given rise to considerable controversy between the advocates and the opponents of Henry and of Anne Boleyn. To prove the hypocrisy of the king, Pole shows that Henry sought from the pope a licence to contract a marriage in which there existed, virtually, the same impediment to its validity as that which he urged, as ground for a divorce, in regard to his first marriage. Pole asserts it as an indisputable and admitted fact, that Henry had seduced Mary Boleyn, the sister of the Lady Anne, and that she had for some time lived with him as his mistress. The argument held by Henry's advocates was, that this connection would not vitiate a marriage with Anne; nevertheless, in applying for the divorce from Katharine, his advocates took the precaution of having a clause inserted to meet this case, in the event of the validity of the marriage with Anne being, on this ground, afterwards disputed. If Pole's statement be admitted, the hypocrisy of Henry was gross indeed;* and greater still Pole represents it to have been,

* It is not necessary for me to investigate this offensive subject. The documents produced by the learned editor of the last Oxford edition of Burnet, Mr. Pocock, appear to be irrefragable. In an able argument for the divorce, written by Cranmer and preserved in the British Museum, but not published, to which I have referred in the Life of that primate, he evidently argued for the purpose of showing that cohabitation with a woman not allied to a man by the contract of mar-

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since he also states it as undeniable that Henry had admitted to the emperor, that when he married Katharine she had been to his brother only nominally a wife. The hypocrisy of the king is also shown, in that he pretended to be influenced by the fear of involving the country in civil wars through a disputed succession, unless the validity or invalidity of his first marriage was fully established. Pole declares, that the aristocracy would never permit the daughter of his harlot—*scorti filiam*—to sit on the throne, and that therefore, like another Cadmus, Henry was sowing the seeds of sedition, and

riage, stood on grounds very different from those on which the validity of a marriage was made to rest. If the same principle applied equally to both cases, Cranmer argued that no man could be sure of his legitimacy. Pole's treatise being scarce, the reader may like to see the passage :—

“ Sed quo id modo Deus mihi revelavit, non per se quidem ut multa persæpe multis, sed per illam ipsam adulteram, quam tu in uxoris cubile induxisti, illa inquam ipsa quam tu rejecta legitima uxore nunc tecum habes animum tuum mihi totum patefacit. Quomodo inquis dicam equidem, si prius mihi ad ea, quæ te rogabo, responderis. Si uxorem iccirco reliquisses ; quia legem tibi persuasisses nefarium illud et abominandum matrimonium pronunciare : an non maxime operam dares, ne te iterum tali matrimonio contaminares : an non ab iis personis penitus abstineres, quæ in eadem ac deteriore etiam quam prior uxor, causa essent. Aliter sane facere non posses, si te aliquid legis ratio moveret : quin illos etiam odio haberes, qui tibi talis cujuspiam matrimonii authores essent, aut omnino ejus mentionem apud te facerent. Quid ea, quam tute tibi in repudiata locum consociasti, cujusmodi tandem est. An non soror ejus est, quam tu et violasti primum et diu postea concubinæ loco apud te habuisti, illa ipsa est. Quomodo ergo nos doces, quam refugias ab illicitis matrimoniis, an tu hic legem ignorabas, quæ non minus profecto vetat, sororem te ejus ducere, cum qua ipse unum corpus factus sis, quam ejus cum qua frater, si una detestanda est, altera etiam detestanda. An hanc legem nesciebas : an tu omnium optime noras. Verum quo pacto ego hoc scio : Quia eodem tempore quo pontificis dispensationem de uxore fratris ducenda rejecisti, ab eodem pontifice, magna vi contendebas, ut tibi liceret ducere sororem ejus, quæ concubina tua fuisset, idque ita impetrasti, si ante constitisset non habuisse jus Pontificem priore illa in causa dispensandi. An non,

preparing the rising generation for mutual slaughter. Pole assumed himself to be the advocate and supporter of the family of Henry VII.; and he very fairly remarks on the position he thus occupies. His uncle, the Earl of Warwick, an innocent man, was sacrificed to political expediency, and doomed to death for the security of the Tudor dynasty,—strange would it appear to Henry, if he were living, to find in the nephew of the murdered man a champion of Henry VII.'s family in opposition to his son. He then passes on to compare the existing condition of the country, in a state of commotion from one end to the other, with the peaceful state of public affairs when the first of the Tudors died.

Pole, at the same time, unintentionally contradicts the statement often made by partisans on his side of the

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igitur hæc ipsa quam nunc habes pro uxore, quæ tua mens fuerit planissime ostendit: an non per ejus personam, ea tacente, Deus omnibus certum facit, te quo libidini tuæ obsequeris, non ut Dei mandato obtemperares, legis mentionem fecisse. Sed est aliud quod adhuc magis animum tuum notum faciat. Hæc enim de uxore fratris multo est levior causa cur ita. Quia etsi uxor ejus fuit in facie atque oculis ecclesiæ ducta, cujus turpitudinem lex vetat te revelare, virgo tamen ad te pervenit, sed hujus, quam nunc habes, sororem non opinor te dicturum virginem a te esse relictam, ut jam quæ lex contra priorem uxorem facere videbatur, ea nihil faciat, si ipsam constet a tuo fratre intactam fuisse. Illa enim lex cum turpitudinem fratris revelare vetat, significat locum habere mandatum, ubi corporum conjunctio fuerit, itaque per nomen revelandæ turpitudinis fratris, eam duci uxorem prohibet. Atqui ubi nulla corporum conjunctio, ibi nulla est fratris turpitudine quæ revelari possit, hic legis interdictum locum non habet. At in eam cujus sororem te constat violasse quam maxime profecto valet. Sed qua ratione scire potui virginem a te ductam esse fratris tui uxorem: an hoc etiam Deus mihi revelavit. Quid hic opus est Dei revelatione? annon hoc satis persuadet ætas fratris qui annos quatuordecim natus, excessit e vita? non corporis imbecillitas qua illum fuisse constat, satis probat? non denique satis est ad fidem faciendam, quod sanctissima fœmina id sanctissime adjurat? sed tu illi videlicet non credis."—De Unitate, lxxvii.

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question, that Henry's moral conduct had been irreproachable until his rupture with the see of Rome, after which it was a history of iniquity. The character of the man may be read in the history of the Duke of Richmond and of Mary Boleyn, and in the dissipations of a court which had not only exhausted the treasures of a prudent father, but had caused the king to extort from his people, in twenty-six years, more money than had been expended by his ancestors in many generations. His ancestors, in waging wars which raised the glory of the English name, had not expended a thousandth part of what was forced from the pockets of his people by Henry VIII., to meet excesses which terminated in his self-indulgence. He had insulted his nobles by calling the lowest of the people to occupy the highest offices in the state, and by visiting them with the severest punishment for the most trifling offences. The argumentative force of these facts Pole damaged by his violence when he spoke of the Reformation. He represents the Church in a twofold character : the true Church, of which the Bishop of Rome was the head ; and Satan's Church, of which the head was Henry VIII. From this puerility he passes to the consideration of the present condition of England, where the persecution of all who did not bow subservient to the royal will and pleasure, was unendurable. He adverts with indignant pathos to the judicial murders of Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, with the other sufferers under Crumwell. He calls Anne Boleyn a Jezebel, and represents Henry as being worse in tyranny than the Turk. When he gets upon this subject he seems to have had no mastery of his pen, and his argument is often vitiated by evident interpolations of abuse. After reviling the king, he asserts the constitutional right of insurrection ; he maintains that, in confer-

ring the crown—which was done at the coronation—the English people reserved to themselves the right to depose the elected monarch if he violated the constitution, or encroached on the rights of the subject. They might take up arms to compel the king to change his ministers or to resign; and having declared war against him, they were at liberty to make alliances with foreign powers. On this principle *he was prepared to act*. Ignoring the fact, that what Henry did was with the consent of the people and by act of parliament, Pole vindicated the cause of the insurgents, and declared his readiness to engage foreign princes to enable the people of England to depose a sovereign who, in calling himself head of the Church, had proved himself to be, as Pole maintained, a traitor to God and man. The author here again becomes rhetorical and bombastic. If the Cæsar were engaged against the Turks, the great enemies of the Church, and if Pole were to hear that he was already entering the Hellespont, thither Pole would follow him, and tell him, that he ought first to subdue a more deadly enemy to Christianity than the Turk himself, and nearer home—that, glorious as it was to liberate the bodies of men, to set their souls free from the trammels of heresy was more glorious still.

He goes on at considerable length in this style. Bad as his own Germany is, the Cæsar would find things still worse in England, and he, as the chief monarch in the world, should supply a remedy. In England, every lip that would move in favour of Christianity was silenced by the law. But as, in the time of Elias, there were seven thousand that had not bowed the knee to Baal, so in England some were still found faithful, people who were looking for aid and protection from the emperor. The English were still the same people who, in times

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past, called their kings to account for mis-spending their money, and who sometimes had even compelled them to abdicate. This the present generation would have already done, if they had not been waiting for the aid of the Cæsar.*

It is thus that Pole would address the emperor; and he introduces Katharine herself as imploring her imperial nephew not to take vengeance for her own wrongs, but to afford redress to her adopted country. He again rambles into an incoherent abuse of the king, from which we perceive his object to have been, first to alarm Henry, by telling him, that all the European powers would array themselves against him if he persevered in his present course; but then, to guard against despair, he adverted to a remedy, the nature of which he would state in his fourth book.

The remedy so pompously introduced is found, in the fourth book, to consist in the simple one of repentance. Henry is exhorted to repent by a pedantic reference to

* As before observed, Pole assumed throughout the right of the majority of the nation to depose a traitor king. He may have been wrong, but it is fair to him to state that this he believed to be constitutional law. I give the passage in this place, to which others of similar character might be added: "*Sunt autem iidem Angli, Cæsar, qui multo leviores de causa ipsi sine auxilio externo pœnas male administratæ reipublicæ a regibus suis sumpserunt; qui reges suos ob profusius in reipublicæ damnum effusas pecunias ad rationes reddendas citatos, cum eas approbare non potuissent corona se et sceptro abdicare coegerunt. Hos porro spiritus cum adhuc retineant, nihil eos a tanta injuria regis vindicanda retardat, neque jam diu retardavit, præter spem et expectationem tui, ad quem ita hanc causam pertinere putant, ut nisi naturæ tuæ deesse velis, quam ex plurimis præclare abs te factis sibi persuadent esse generosissimam, nisi religionis amorem, cujus constat te studiosissimum, deponere te non posse hanc causam, non suscipere pro comperto habeant. Per te autem facilius et minori negotio ac regni damno his tantis malis occurrì posse judicant quam si suis manibus idem tentarent, idque recte sane ita existimant et merito te expectant.*"—De Unitate, cxiii.

pardoned sinners, beginning with King David. As in the curses of Shimei David recognised the voice of the living God, so now it was hoped that Henry would give heed to one who, if he reproached him, yet in uttering these reproaches, acted contrary to the bias of his nature. He reviled not the king, but his actions. He bids the king not to be disheartened by the difficulty of repentance,—*χαλεπὸν τὸ καλόν*. He dwells on the blessings which would result from the repentance of the king. Like Ezekiel, Pole had sounded the trumpet of alarm, and had warned the people: “Whosoever heareth the sound of the trumpet and taketh not warning, if the sword come and take him away, his blood shall be on his own head; but he that taketh warning shall deliver his soul.” He concludes, therefore, in the words of the same prophet: “Repent and turn yourselves from all your transgressions, so iniquity shall not be your ruin.”

The amazement in England among the courtiers and ministers of Henry was great, when this broadside was unexpectedly fired against the king and his government. That Henry expected something of the kind is highly probable, for he received the document with less indignation than might have been expected. But he took decided steps. What had been before given as a friendly invitation was now issued as a command; and Pole was ordered, on his allegiance, to return home, and personally to render an account of his conduct to the king. This was the proper and dignified course to be pursued, though the advocates of Pole represent it as an absurd proceeding. It placed Pole entirely in the wrong if he refused. It was not for the king to say, you have written an improper letter, and I will punish you by no longer contributing to your support. The King of England had laid his commands upon his subject—he had

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not been obeyed; the rebellious subject was ordered home: if he still refused obedience, his salaries and other sources of emolument would, as a matter of course, be stopped. The king could not be expected to pay a splendid salary to a disobedient subject. Pole saw at once that he was placed in a dilemma. If he obeyed the king's command, the Tower would have been his temporary residence, and of Reginald Pole we should have known as little as we now do of his uncle the Earl of Warwick; if he refused to obey, his means of livelihood would be suspended. In a letter to the king Pole informed him, that until the Act of Supremacy, under which so many holy men had been condemned to torture or to death, had been rescinded, he could not venture to return home, however much he might wish to obey his royal master. He petitioned the king that Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, whom he described as "a sad and learned man," might peruse the treatise, and give the king an account of it.* He said, that "although in places the treatise might seem harsh to the king, yet, if read all over, it would prove to be otherwise." He contended, that as a father loves the child whom he punishes, so his castigation of the king was no impeachment of his affection and loyalty.

The Bishop of Durham received and obeyed the royal command, and transmitted a letter to Pole, dated the

* Starkey states in his letter that Pole's treatise was submitted to the Bishop of Durham by his advice. It is probable that the proposal was made by him and by Pole independently of each other. When the supremacy was first asserted in convocation, and before it was enforced by act of parliament, Tunstall had demurred to its acceptance. He was satisfied on an explanation, yet he was regarded as the person likely to take the most lenient view of Pole's treatise. Pole might have expected that, convinced by his arguments, Tunstall might again change his mind.

13th of July, 1536, in which, after refuting Pole's argument in favour of the supremacy, he rebuked him severely but with dignity. The bishop informed him that, instead of encroaching upon the privileges of the priesthood and invading the holy function, the king had a great respect for the sacerdotal character, provided other qualifications were not wanting. He denied that the king had separated from the Catholic Church; his practice, the bishop affirmed, was to adhere to the unity of the Catholic Church, to maintain the Catholic doctrine, and to conform to Catholic worship, and to the ecclesiastical government of the rest of Christendom. He admits that he had rescued the Church of England from the encroachments of the see of Rome, but this, if it were a singularity, was deserving of commendation. The king had brought matters back to their primitive condition, and enabled the Church of England to maintain her ancient freedom. He reminded Pole, that the popes swore to observe the canons of the eight general councils, which had conceded no supremacy to the Bishop of Rome, a supremacy to which modern popes laid claim, but of which the ancient fathers were ignorant. Before proceeding to prove the truth of his assertions by reference to history, he, as on a former occasion, contradicts the assertion, so often made by Pole, that the king, in renouncing the papal supremacy, was not backed by the country; so opposed is the statement to fact, that, "if the king should attempt to revive the pope's authority, he would find it a difficult business to bring his subjects to this sentiment, or to get a bill to re-establish the papal power, to pass through parliament." The bishop, then, by reference to the councils, shows, that the modern pretensions of the popes were based on concessions made, not on principle, but for the sake of convenience.*

* Cotton. MSS. Cleop. E VI. p. 385.

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Starkey also was greatly affected by Pole's disingenuous conduct in regard to himself, which, indeed, had nearly involved him in ruin, for the king suspected him to be in a conspiracy with Pole to deceive him. He addressed Pole in a letter full of kind feeling and powerful argument, though his style was less terse than that of Tunstall. He complains of Pole's having discontinued his correspondence with him, or nearly so, for some time,—a complaint made by his other friends, including the king. He could not understand why a difference of opinion, in matters not pertaining directly to salvation, should cause a breach of love. But when he read Pole's treatise, he was rather pleased than sorry, that their correspondence should cease; since Pole had evinced so little regard for his master's honour, and so little respect for his friends and his country. This, indeed, would be the last letter he should write *donec resipiscas*. When Pole's treatise arrived in England, Starkey says, that although he had not received a letter, as he might have expected, he still acted the part of a friend, and proposed that it should be submitted to the judgment of a committee of learned persons, himself, as Pole's friend, being one. "In the reading whereof," he says, "though we loved you all entirely, yet your corrupt judgment in the matter so offended us, that many times our ears abhorred the hearing." Starkey was so astonished, that he obtained permission to read the treatise privately, and then to make notes upon it aided by the Bishop of Durham. He continues: "Herein lies the sum of your book; because we are slipped from the obedience of Rome, you judge us to be separate from the unity of the Church, and to be no members of the Catholic body, but to be worse than Turks or Saracens; and you rail against your prince as if he had been Julian

Apostata. . . . But, alas ! Master Pole, what blindness is this in you thus to judge your master on so slight an occasion ? For though we be slipt from the obedience of Rome, denying any superiority to be due thereto from the law of God, yet we be not slipt *a fide Romana nec a Petri Cathedrâ*. We observe and keep the same faith which from the beginning hath been taught in Rome ; the which whosoever keepeth, never slippeth aside *a sede* Petri, though he never hear of any higher power or superiority to be given to the Bishop of Rome. You, therefore, abuse yourself marvellously to judge us to be separate from the unity of the Church, because we have rejected this superiority." He proceeds to show, that the papal supremacy was simply a political arrangement, made by man, and therefore by man, when the supremacy is no longer expedient, to be rescinded. He affirms, that the supremacy claimed by the Bishop of Rome was only conceded to him five hundred years ago, and could not, therefore, be of apostolical origin. He accuses Pole of having sought his authorities among modern authors ; and Starkey shows how "the ancient writers, Cyprian, Jerome, and all antiquity, were against the papal supremacy." Having entreated Pole to reconsider his case, he mentions the report that Pole had been invited by the Bishop of Rome to confer with him on a general council ; and he—Starkey—as one of his most loving friends, implores him to consider the cause well before he consents to forsake his natural sovereign lord for the service of a foreign bishop. He promises to pray that Pole may see the light of truth, and that they may be led all to agree together in concord of opinion and unity. Attributing Pole's errors to his ignorance, he concludes in Latin, as expressing his meaning in the least offensive manner—

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“Ignorantia plane lapsus es; cui ego omnes omnium errores, juxta Platonem, tribuere soleo.” *

From his mother and his brothers Pole received letters condemnatory of his treatise. Their heads must have felt unsafe on their shoulders when they read it, and they may have needed no prompting to write; although they may have received orders, or at least a hint, from court as to the expediency of such a proceeding. Pole cared for none but himself; and a prouder position than he now seemed to himself to occupy in Europe he could not, by a change of conduct, have secured for himself in England.

To the Bishop of Durham Pole replied. He attempts to refute his arguments, and contends, that if harsh language were used in the treatise against the king, the fault was not in the writer, but in the king, whose actions were such, that if they were faithfully described, it could only be in language apparently harsh. In allusion to Tunstall's assertion, that although we attribute to the king the chief government of all estates of the realm, we do not give to our princes the ministering of either God's word or sacraments, Pole insists that the power is implied in the supremacy—that is, he begs the question. On the other hand, he contends for the supremacy of the pope, because our Lord said to St. Peter only, “Feed my sheep.” In answer to the bishop's remark, that the whole country was

* Cotton. MSS. Cleop. E VI. p. 373. For this portion of Pole's history I am chiefly indebted to the Simancas and Venetian documents and the various State papers, many of which are to be found in the collections of Burnet, Collier, and Strype, not always transcribed with accuracy, but never intentionally garbled. The authorities of such writers as Phillips, and others who have followed him, are Beccatelli and Quirini, whom I have consulted with caution, the second not being Pole's contemporary, and the first being his secretary, to whom Pole imparted only what he wished to have recorded of those transactions, which are now for the first time brought to light in the State Papers.

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rejoicing in having been freed from papal usurpation, and would regard Pole as wanting in patriotism if he attempted to reduce them again under the papal yoke, the latter returned the answer usual to such vague assertions, that he was ready to serve his country through evil report as well as through good report. As touching the king, he says, if every other counsellor forsake him, "I will never leave him; but whensoever I have occasion," he says, "I will show my mind grounded on the truth; and here is the bond you speak of towards him, of my bringing up in virtue and learning; which I will ever keep, whatsoever peril or jeopardy to me depend thereof. And that you write my lady mother and other my friends shall take discomfort thereby, I know, my lord, they love the king too well, if they see the purpose of my mind, to take any discomfort thereof."

In conclusion, Pole states that on the 26th of June, the day before the arrival of the Bishop of Durham's letter, he had received unexpectedly a brief from the Pope, a copy of which he had sent to Crumwell, in which the Pope declared his intention, for the better preparation of the general council already announced, to have an assembly in the ensuing winter at Rome of a few of the best learned men of every nation.

Among these Reginald had himself been summoned; and after the usual commonplaces, relating to his consciousness of being unworthy of such distinction, he announced his intention, though reluctantly, to obey the summons, *Deo volente*.*

Paul III. surrounded himself with men of wit and learning, and was at this time the most popular pontiff that had for many years occupied the papal throne. A native of Rome, educated at Florence, he was, accord-

* Cotton. MSS.

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ing to Ranke, a man of easy, magnificent and liberal habits. He was an elegant scholar, and in manners simple and refined. At a later period of his life he was made to see how the great Protestant dogma of justification by faith only, tended to the subversion of the whole mediæval scheme on which popery really rested; and he became more and more opposed, towards the end of his career, to the principles through the assertion of which, in his young days, he became popular and distinguished. But now when he first ascended the throne he was a sincere reformer, and had selected Pole's friend, Contarini, for his adviser. He continued to be a patron of reform even when his friends were beginning to despair of him; for writing to Pole in 1538, Contarini says, that on a bright and beautiful day in November he met the pope as he was entering the city of Ostia. Of Ostia Paul had been formerly the bishop, and he loved to revisit the place, where, with recollections of past days of peaceful usefulness, his mind, harassed by cares of state, sought occasional repose. On the road, writes Contarini, "our good old man took me beside him, and conversed with me alone on the reform of compositions. He said that he possessed the little treatise which I had written on the matter, and that he had read it in those hours before daybreak * which were at his command. I had myself given up all hope; but now he spoke to me on many subjects in such a Christian tone, that I have conceived fresh hope, that God will do some great thing, and not let the gates of hell prevail against His Holy Spirit."

The invitation to Pole was the more gratifying, at least so Pole would represent it, from the circumstance

* "*Atque legisse antelucanis horis tractatulum quendam quem conscripsi.*" (Ep. Poli, ii. 141.) Paul III. was an early riser. This letter was written in November.

of there having previously been no personal acquaintance between himself and the pontiff. But Paul was acquainted with his character through Contarini; and there was evidently an exaggerated opinion prevalent in Italy of Pole's influence in England, through his relation to King Henry VIII.—a fact scarcely recognised in England itself. There can be little doubt also, that Paul had seen, the first draft at least of, the treatise “De Unitate.” Contarini had requested permission to show it to the pope; and Pole had remarked on the inexpediency of the proposal, since attention would not be given in England to his arguments, if it were conjectured that the pope had been consulted on a document demanded from one of his subjects by King Henry VIII.* But from what we know of Pole's character, we may surmise that all he meant was, that if the draft were submitted to the pope's inspection, Contarini was to be alone responsible; and that Pole might be free to declare, that he was not acting under papal dictation.

Notwithstanding what he had affirmed in his letter to Tunstall, Pole still paused before he started for Rome. He hesitated, as well he might, before he took a step which would subject him to the penalties of a præmunire, and perhaps banish him for ever from his native land. He told Contarini that he waited for letters from England; but at the same time he assured his friend, that whether he heard from England or not, he would, in the course of sixteen days, start for Rome. No letters arrived, and he kept his word, travelling in the company of some of the most renowned men in Italy.

* In the brief of summons sent to Pole in July, the words occur: “Te de cujus nobilitate, doctrina ac probitate, sinceraque in religionem et Dei ecclesiam mente eum *ex operibus tuis* tum fide dignorum testimonio accipimus.” (Paulus Papa R. Polo Anglo dat Roma, xii. Julii, MDXXXVI.) To what works of Pole could he here refer if not to the De Unitate.

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One of his associates was the learned and sagacious Abbot of San Gregorio Maggiore at Venice, Gregorio Cortese, of whom mention has been already made, the consistent piety of whose life added a lustre to his merit as a man of learning. Another of his associates was Gianpietro Caraffa, Bishop of Chieti, the dark shadows of whose character had not as yet been developed. At Verona they lingered for a short time, that they might examine the plans and regulations which rendered that diocese, under the admirable discipline of Matteo Giberti, a model of what a diocese ought to be. The example of Giberti was quoted by the justly celebrated Carlo Borromeo, as affording a perfect pattern of the life of a true bishop. At Verona, Pole received his despatches from England. The official mandate was signed by Crumwell, requiring him, on his allegiance, to return immediately to England, without visiting Rome. Tunstall and Stokesley, men who might fairly have expected their opinions to have weight with Pole, addressed him in terms of remonstrance and indignation. Private letters were put into his hands with the signature attached to them of his mother, the Countess of Salisbury, and of his brother, the Lord Montague. Among the government papers still preserved in the Record Office we find the draft of the two letters last mentioned. There can be but one inference deduced from this fact—namely, that the letters received by Pole were mere transcripts, on the part of his relations, of letters composed by order of the government; and when we consult the documents themselves, the natural suspicion is fully confirmed by internal evidence. But Pole was too acute a politician to question openly the authorship of the letters. He afterwards referred to his conduct on this occasion, to show that he had not acted with precipitation; and he wished to make it appear that,

on reading the letters from England, he was shaken in his determination to go to Rome. He professed to have yielded at last, and with difficulty, to the arguments of his fellow-travellers; and, referring to his family correspondence, he dwelt, in writing to Contarini and in conversation with his friends in Italy, upon the magnitude of the sacrifice he was making. King, country, family, all that was dear to his heart, he was sacrificing for the pope; and there is something in human nature which attaches us at once to any one who has denied self, and overcome private considerations for the public good or the benefit of another. If, in obeying the papal commands, he thus deprived himself of the means of subsistence—for his supplies from England would thenceforth be stopped—he must throw himself upon the charitable consideration of the authorities at Rome. He gave a further pathos to his appeal to the papal benevolence, by adding that his life was in danger—a life which had, as persons in similar situations are accustomed to say, lost all that made it worth having, and which he was prepared to lay down for the public good, though for the sake of the public he desired protection.* Reginald Pole may have deceived others, but, at the same time, he generally contrived to deceive himself. He now commiserated himself before he presented himself as an object of commiseration to his friends.

Pole's appeal to the pope, through the good offices of Contarini, had not been without effect; and on his arrival at Rome he found himself received with the honours due to royalty; and he took possession of lodgings prepared for himself and his suite in the papal palace. He was welcomed by his friend, Sadoletto, Bishop of Carpentras, whose friendship was of itself sufficient to stamp the man

* Ep. Poli, i. 45.

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who enjoyed it, with a character for holiness. He was joined in a commission with men of whom Ranke says, that they were all of them of unblemished manners, learned, pious, and acquainted with the spiritual requirements of the various countries in which they were born and nurtured.* Contarini, already a cardinal, was the actuating spirit, bringing his great mind to bear upon the pope on the one side, and, on the other, upon the personages who were invited to the conference, and who were now joined in a commission. When the commissioners had all arrived at Rome, they were admitted to the presence of the pontiff, and by him they were addressed with much courtesy. Of the correctness of their principles and the soundness of their judgment, the pope was fully convinced. They were required to make a note of everything that required reform ; to reduce their opinions to writing ; and to submit the document to the holy father. They were sworn to secrecy ; and they were then dismissed to the performance of their duty.

The commissioners were accustomed to hold their meetings in the rooms of Contarini, and, according to Caracciolo, their chief object was, by a timely redress of grievances, to silence the clamour of heretics.† Their labours, which occupied the space of two years, resulted in the *Concilium de emendanda ecclesia* ; and when, at last, it was given to the public, though it did not meet the views of the Protestants of Germany, it gave satisfaction in other quarters. The report, or address, was defective in the suggestion of remedies, but it was outspoken and unsparing in the condemnation of abuses.

Complimentary to the reigning pope, as the manner of subjects is when addressing their sovereign, they warned

* Ranke, History of the Popes, i. 98.

† Caracciolo, Vita de Paolo IV. (MS.), British Museum.

his holiness that he ought not to sell for filthy lucre the spiritual privileges he is empowered by Christ to impart ; but having received freely, he is freely to give. We gather from their statements, that the grossest irregularities prevailed in the Roman Church ; that young persons were ordained, without undergoing examination, in order to their enjoyment of the emoluments of preferments heaped by their relations on undeservers ; that, in many instances, the offices of the Church had become almost hereditary ; the beneficed priest, to the disgust of the laity, resigning his benefice in favour of his children. Complaint was made of bishoprics held by cardinals unable properly to discharge the episcopal duties, while they pleaded their engagements elsewhere as an excuse for their not residing—as they were bound to do—at Rome. They lamented the general decay of discipline ; and bearing in mind what was taking place in England, we read with interest, if with regret, such statements as the following :—

“ There are a great many ill examples among the religious, and therefore we think it advisable that those monks who are called conventuals should have their society dissolved, not by any sudden violence, but by degrees, refusing to admit any person into that order for the future. By this means they will decay by little and little, and others of more approved conversation may be placed in their room. And for present remedy, all those youths who are not professed and under vow should be immediately removed from them. Moreover, also, great care ought to be taken in the choice of confessors ; and here the bishops ought to be very circumspect, especially that no ecclesiastical affairs may be swayed by money, for, as we observed before, the spiritual power ought to be communicated gratis ; which duty relateth not only to yourself, but to all those who are preferred to any cures under your holiness. In nunneries also, where confessions and other religious offices are left to the con-

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duct of the monks, a great deal of open and notorious lewdness is committed, and a scandalous example given for the encouragement of vice: the monks therefore must be trusted with the care of those houses no longer; but others placed in their stead of less dangerous and suspicious conversation." *

Other irregularities are mentioned, which are the more worthy of notice, because the observations come from persons devoted to the see of Rome:—

"The liberty, also, which is allowed professed monks to lay aside their proper habits, and appear in another, is, as we conceive, very unaccountable, for their habit is a symbolical representation of their religious vow; consequently, if they refuse to wear such a badge, let them not be permitted to perform the offices of clergymen, nor enjoy the advantages of their profession. And to enlarge this head of abuses further: those religious who go strolling about with the relics of St. Anthony and other saints, ought, in our opinion, to be cashiered, for they draw the ignorant vulgar into infinite superstitions and mistakes, and, in plain terms, cheat them into the bargain. We observe likewise, that those who are in holy orders are frequently allowed to marry. Now this ought to be granted to nobody except where the reasons for such a liberty are very weighty—namely, when a whole family and the security of a country depend upon the issue of one particular person. And here we are to insist the more upon rigour and restraint, because the Lutherans allow marriage to all persons without distinction. Neither ought those to be permitted to marry (except the motives to dispense are very urgent) who are related either by consanguinity or affinity in the second prohibited degree." †

Having complained of the prevalence of simony, the commissioners continue:—

"And now, having given an account, as far as our memories would serve us, of what concerneth the Church in general, we shall add some few things more, which relate particularly to the

* Sleidan, 236.

† Ibid. 237.

pope and Bishop of Rome. And as this city and Church of Rome is the parent and mistress of all Churches, she hath an extraordinary obligation upon her to exceed all others in religion and decency of living. But notwithstanding this, there are a great many ignorant and slovenly priests belonging to the cathedral of St. Peter, who are so meanly and scandalously provided, both in respect to their own clothes and *the vestments of their office*, that it would be a very ill sight for them to appear in that manner if it were only in ordinary and private houses. And in this indecent garb they perform Divine service, to the great dissatisfaction of those who are present. Therefore order must be given to the archpriest or to the penitentiary that all such offensive negligence may be removed out of the way, first in this town, and afterwards in other places. But then what complaint is sharp enough against those shameless strumpets, who are suffered to appear in the same dress and figure with women of virtue and condition; who ride upon mules through the most public places of the town at noon day, and have *part of the retinue of cardinals* of the first quality, and such extraordinary attendance to wait upon them? Truly we must needs say, we never saw such marks of dissoluteness and debauchery in any other town but in that which ought to be, as it were, the pattern and original for all the world to draw after and imitate: and to make their grandeur uniform, these lewd women are permitted to dwell in stately houses, to the great scandal of the place.”*

The discussions were amicably conducted, and were only interrupted by the festivities of Christmas. In honour of a festival at which so many divines were present, Paul III. determined to make a large accession to the Sacred College, and it was intimated to Pole that among the new cardinals, he would himself be named. This took Reginald by surprise, for he was not in holy orders. He had not even received, says Phillips, the clerical tonsure, by which those are intimated who design themselves for the clergy. He only belonged to that profession by the benefices he en-

* Sleidan, 237.

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joyed but could not serve. He perceived, also, the impolicy of such an appointment, as well as its inconvenience to himself. I have already observed that Pole, though in opposition to the king, and ready to take up arms to compel Henry to change his ministers and his measures, might, nevertheless, according to the prevalent notions, regard himself still as a loyal Englishman—an Englishman loyal to the constitution, and in that sense loyal to the king as a part of the constitution. But he was now called upon to expatriate himself, for he was well aware that he would never obtain the king's permission for the assumption of the purple. The insurgents with whom he sided professed to uphold the ancient laws of the realm; but among the laws one was, that an English subject, accepting the cardinalate without the consent of the crown, was an outlaw, whose very life might be taken with impunity. Pole's position would be very different if, instead of being an English subject, acting with the opposition, and, so far as his residence abroad would admit of it, being a leader of the opposition—a leader proud of his royal birth, as one of the representatives of the House of York—he should become, in defiance of English law and English prejudices always anti-papal, the prince of a foreign court, holding an office in another branch of the Church Catholic, with which neither the Church nor the realm of England was on friendly terms.

Beccatelli, who had now become a member of Pole's household, says:—"I by chance had come into Pole's presence, when Durante brought the message, together with the haircutter who was to officiate on the occasion."*

* Beccatelli uses an expression which sounds shocking to the more reverential and pious mind of the nineteenth century: "*Sed quoniam nullum longiori moræ, aut tergiversationi relictum locum videret; tanquam agnus coram tondente, novaculæ caput subjecit.*"—P. 23.

Pole gave evident tokens of mortification ; but no time was to be lost, and having submitted to the operation, he followed Durante to the presence of the pope, by whom he was proclaimed cardinal on the 22nd of December, 1536.

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The fact is, that exaggerated statements of the success of the insurgents in England had reached the foreign courts. The emperor and the King of France were prepared to make common cause with the pope, and to crush, as they hoped, a king whom they always feared and often courted, but never loved.* These reports, which were fully believed to be authentic, and to a certain extent were so, met at once all the objections Pole had to urge in reference to the impolicy of his appointment to the cardinalate ; or rather, they rendered the appointment the more important, as Pole would be the best legate that the pope could select to act, in co-operation with the emperor and the King of France, against the King of England.

Beccatelli and other writers also imply that the emperor was desirous of having Pole made a cardinal, in order that his ambition might not interfere with Charles's schemes for the marriage of his cousin—the Lady Mary of England. If this were the case, the emperor's object was defeated, for Pole was not ordained priest, and was only a cardinal deacon. Besides which, as the marriage of the clergy was only a part of the discipline of the Church, a dispensation might, under any circumstances, have been granted, even for the marriage of one in

* From the State Papers, to which, in the Life of Cranmer, reference has been made, it appears that the insurrection was far more serious than is generally supposed ; and from the same source we are impressed with the firmness, sound judgment, and rapidity of action evinced by the king.

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priest's orders ; but such a course would have been productive of less scandal if Pole were only in deacon's orders, and in deacon's orders he therefore remained.

Pole had scarcely accepted the red hat before he received a significant hint, that the insurrection in England was not so formidable as it had been represented to be ; that, in fact, unsupported by parliament, it was regarded at home simply as an act of rebellion.*

A remonstrance was placed in his hands, which Pole, anxious to exaggerate every event which might add to his importance, regarded as an address from parliament.† But, unfortunately for this view of the subject, parliament was not at that time sitting. It was probably a document drawn up by Crumwell, who obtained to it the signatures of those members of either House of Parliament whom he could collect for the occasion.

The remonstrance was attributable to the rumour that had reached England of the pope's intention to offer the red hat to Pole. Before the remonstrance, however, arrived, the deed was done, and Pole was already a cardinal. The Apology which Pole addressed to the English parliament is written in a style and temper so different from that which we have remarked in the letter to the

* That he did not receive the letter before he had been created a cardinal is stated in the Apology by Pole himself. He regrets that, speaking ill of himself, they should utter harder phrases "de eo ordine et gradu, in quo nunc sum collocatus."—Apol. ad Angliæ Parl. Quirini, i. 179.

† Pole entitles his answer *Apologia ad Angliæ Parliamentum* ; but in the Apology itself he speaks of it as a document not coming as a parliamentary paper signed by the chancellor or the speaker of the House of Commons, or by any officer delegated by the parliament acting in its corporate capacity, but he refers to it as to a paper to which various signatures were attached of persons known to him and respected by him. "*Cum vestras literas accepissem, omnium vestrum nominibus subscriptas.*"—Apol. ad Angliæ Parliamentum. Quirini, i. 179.

king, "De Unitate," that it is difficult to believe that the two documents emanated from one and the same person, though of their authenticity there is no doubt. The style of the "Apologia ad Angliæ Parliamentum" is simple, dignified, and easily translated. The remonstrance had reproved the writer of the "De Unitate," for the insults offered in that treatise to the King of England, and, speaking disparagingly of the office of a cardinal, warned him that his acceptance of the purple would be an act of hostility against the king and the realm. The statesmen by whom the remonstrance was signed, urged Pole not to make Rome his place of abode; and they expressed their readiness to confer with him on the controversies which now divided the Church, if he would go as a private person to Flanders. Reginald commenced his reply by expressing his astonishment, that persons whom he had so long held in honour and esteem should have thought so ill of himself and his writings, and so much worse of that order and office in which he was already placed. In defending his attack upon the king, he took his usual tone of defiance, which seems to have been perfectly satisfactory to his own mind. He was indebted to the king for his education; his superior education enabled him to give wise counsel, and he evinced his gratitude by employing his abilities to discover the truth, and by stating it to his benefactor: but even this he did not do until he had received the express commands of the king to give his opinion on the divorce and the supremacy. He defied them to prove, that he had advanced anything as a fact which they did not know to be true; and if such were the case, the blame must rest with the counsellors through whose evil advice the king had been led into error. When they complained that the tendency of the letter was to bring discredit upon the king, he reminded them, that this

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could hardly be the case, since for the king's eye alone was the letter intended. If the object had been to bring the king into discredit, he might have published the letter, and have laid the case before the potentates of Europe, which he had not done.* He defends his own consistency, appealing to the Duke of Norfolk for the truth of his assertion, that if he had acceded to the king's measures, he might long since have become Archbishop of York. For the same reason he had left his country, his home, his relations and friends, and had resided in foreign lands ; and it was in perfect consistency with his avowed principles that he was now at Rome. He had always regarded the Bishop of Rome as Christ's vicar on earth, and to him as such, his obedience was, in the first place, due ; but his deference to the papal authority did not, he contended, imply any want of loyalty on his part to his king. He was aware, that the illustrious personages to whom he was writing would assert—for their opinion was already recorded—that this acknowledgment of the papal supremacy was an opinion utterly without foundation and vain. To this he would only reply, that on such subjects his opinion ought to have more weight than theirs. In military matters, in which they were expert and he an ignoramus, he was prepared to defer to them ; but on points of doctrine, as he had devoted his life to theological studies, he might fairly expect on their part a deference to him, especially when his opinion was the opinion entertained by all learned and honest men in every kingdom except their own. To their assertion, that the reigning pope was the King of England's enemy, he opposed his own experience. He must know more on this point than they, for he was in frequent conversation

* But private copies were so freely circulated that their circulation amounted to a publication.

with the pope, and he would venture to affirm that, in all that concerned the King of England and his people, the pope invariably expressed himself in the terms of a loving father and a most indulgent pastor. It was to do honour to the English nation, that Pole was himself called to the cardinalate, and it was with this intention, that the office was both offered and accepted. He had been one of the first whom the pope had summoned to Rome to confer on the convention of a general council, and he felt that, in attending the conference, he was upholding the honour of his native land, which would disgrace itself if it repudiated, or refused to take part in, the proposed council. To confer with the English authorities he had accepted the office of legate, and was preparing for a journey into Flanders. They had signified their willingness to confer with him if he had gone to the Low Countries in a private capacity ; and he entreated them not to reject his mediation on the ground of his having become a cardinal. They attributed the disorders to which the country was exposed to the mismanagement of one cardinal—Cardinal Wolsey ; surely the proper person to rectify the evil would be another cardinal ;—and if goodwill, if zeal, if loyalty to king and country, if an earnest desire to promote the well-being and honour of both were sufficient qualifications, Reginald Pole had no hesitation in offering his services. But if they thought to intimidate him by threats, or to allure him by promises, to renounce the papal supremacy, the maintenance of which he contended was perfectly consistent with loyalty to the king, they would find themselves mistaken ; for there was no sacrifice which he was not, for the sake of his principles, prepared to make. He concludes thus :—

“ Do you now deliberate what should be done. You see what fruits of seditions these new dogmas have produced which have

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been originated by certain rash young men to render antiquated all ancient laws and customs, and to the disturbance of public tranquillity, which if you wish to restore, and at the same time to establish the security of a prince whom we are all bound to aid, of a certainty the ways thereto will not be wanting, unless you desire to despise them, which, from your prudence, I cannot judge to be possible. But such is the case, that not only should peace and the safety of the king be settled so long as we are in this life, but those ought to have sentence, and to give an account before the tribunal of God, for all and every one who render him vacillating in matters of this kind, and not firm and stable as the Church prescribes. Wherefore, that all your counsels may be directed to his honour, and that your actions may follow the same, I will ever pray, and to the utmost of my power ever assist, with the favour of his benignity, to whom both all and singular I desire you specially commended. Farewell." *

As was too frequently the case with Pole, although he told the parliament of England, or the subscribers to the document which he regarded as a parliamentary paper, a truth, he did not tell the whole truth. Immediately after his nomination as cardinal, he was appointed a papal legate. He was, at this very time, preparing to go to the Low Countries, not, however, to communicate with Henry and the parliament, but that he might be able to confer with deputies from the insurgents, by whom he expected the king, and those lords who adhered to his party, would be overpowered.

Reginald Pole left Rome in 1537, in the full expectation of having to head a triumph, and of being hailed in England as a deliverer. He felt himself a patriot marching to rescue his country from a tyrant whom he had compared to Nero.

A man of simple tastes and habits, he was too wise not

* *Apologia ad Angliæ Parliamentum.* Quirini, i. 179-187.

to understand how much the vulgar mind in high life as well as in low life is influenced by things external. It was Lent, and he refused to avail himself of the privilege of a traveller. By his fastings and austerity his health was so visibly injured, that his secretary, Beccatelli, began to be alarmed, and in a letter to Contarini entreated the cardinal to interfere. In replying to Contarini, Pole admitted that to carry his austerities so far as to incapacitate him for the work in which he was engaged would be criminal, and that he would defer to his friend's advice. He had hitherto declined to yield to the judgment of his companions Beccatelli and Priuli on the subject, because his high position made him "the observed of all observers," and he thought that any laxity on his part might be misunderstood and set a bad example. He begged Contarini to urge the pope to remember him in his prayers, for in the efficacy of prayer he had a lively faith, and could appeal to his own experience, since from early youth he had been accustomed, in all his undertakings, to seek the Divine blessing.*

Of his dignity and the responsibilities of his office he never lost sight. Writing to Contarini from Piacenza, he says that his companions had gone out to see the city; but he, bound by his golden shackles, was obliged to remain at home; a restraint, however, which he felt the less irksome, for he had not had one day's rest since he left Rome.

While we obtain these glimpses of his inner life, we are informed that his retinue was splendid, such as became the dignity of his office, and—a fact which he never lost sight of—his royal birth. His expenses were indeed so great as to exceed the usual allowances made to legates, and he asked, through Contarini, for an aug-

* Ep. Poli, ii. xv.

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mentation of salary, his private supplies from England having entirely ceased. The pope was unwilling to establish a precedent by making an addition formally to his income, but he permitted him to draw upon his bankers for sums which the peculiar character of his embassy—secret service money, in short—might require.

We know from his credentials from Rome what his expectations were. Among the documents with which he was furnished was an address to the English nation, to be published at Pole's discretion. In this, the revolt, assumed beforehand to have been successful, was to be sanctified by the papal approbation. The insurgents were required to pay to the legate the deference due to the holy see he represented, and to render him all the assistance that his merits, his royal birth, and his high office might fairly demand of them.*

Another letter was addressed to James V., King of Scotland, to whom the pope transmitted a consecrated sword, and a cap of maintenance. He was exhorted to place confidence in Pole, who was commissioned by the pope to effect a permanent peace between the emperor and the King of France; he was to prepare for a general council, to raise funds for a war against the Turk, by whom Italy was threatened; but chiefly was the king exhorted to give countenance and support to the insurgents of a neighbouring nation, who were in communication with Pole, and who required that aid and support which none could give so well as the King of Scotland.

A letter of similar import was addressed to the French king, and another to Mary, Queen Dowager of Hungary, sister of Charles V., and governor of the Low Countries. All of these letters betray the primary object—the object

* Quirini, *Inter Monumenta Præliminaria*.

first in Pole's mind—the re-establishment of the papal authority in England.

Notwithstanding the remonstrance from the lords and others of the king's council, Pole was still in high spirits. He knew that fifteen lords had conspired to put down the Reformation, that among others the Nevilles had been in the field, and that the western counties were as much excited as the northern. He expected to be summoned to England almost as soon as he had entered France. He little understood the power of intellect and of will which belonged to the great prince on whom he had heaped unmeasured abuse, and whom he had ventured to lecture as a schoolboy. At no time in a long reign was the vigour of Henry's policy and character so conspicuous as it was at the present. With a considerable portion of his subjects in open insurrection, with discontent murmuring in every corner of the land, with Scotland and all Europe in arms against him, with scarcely a minister whom he could trust or from whom he could seek advice, except Crumwell; so quietly, but so decisively, did Henry overpower all resistance, that until lately, when the State Papers were opened to the public, no historian, certainly no reader, was aware of the dangers to which his government was at this time exposed, or how near the insurgents were to success. The calm resolution of Henry, the precaution united with vigilance which he displayed, the amount of labour he endured, and the anxiety he could not always conceal, are worthy of all admiration. The noiseless success is an indication of a genius which, in its proud consciousness of strength, wished for no display; and the political wisdom is worthy of notice, by which he avoided all appearance of triumph, and so left the impression on the public mind that the insurrection, instead of being a subject of alarm, was

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simply a succession of riots, to be treated with contempt and easily quelled.

The rapidity of these events took Pole by surprise, and his hopes were dashed to the ground almost as soon as they were formed. The persons, however, whose pusillanimity surprises us most are the King of France and the emperor. Having promised one week an invasion of England, they came to terms of amity almost the next week with its king, whom they had intended to dethrone. They were made cowards by conscience. Nominally allies of Henry, they had been clandestinely encouraging the insurgents. To what extent Henry was acquainted with their proceedings they did not know; but they might easily suspect, that enough had been discovered to disgrace them in the eyes of Europe, if their several negotiations with the insurgent subjects of their ally were published. Henry was too wise to exasperate them for no purpose; he would not drive them to bay. The insurrection had been completely crushed. His success justified him, according to the notions of the age, in treating as rebels those whom Pole had described as noblemen and gentlemen, in arms to vindicate their liberties and to maintain their religion against the aggression of an unprincipled and imperious tyrant. Henry determined to suppose it impossible that his allies would aid and abet the English insurgents; they would rather do their utmost to aid their royal brother when, in punishing the rebels, he was upholding the cause of royalty. He did not hesitate, however, to demand, that one of those subjects, denounced as a rebel and who had also incurred the penalties of a *præmunire* by accepting the red hat without obtaining the royal assent, should, if he appeared in any place subject to their rule, be sent in chains to England, there to undergo his trial.

The situation of Francis was difficult and humiliating. He had invited Pole to France, and now he was required, as an ally of the King of England, and as a matter of course, to deliver the legate a prisoner to the English authorities. He could come to an explanation with Pole, but not with Henry. All he could do was to prevail upon Pole, by withdrawing voluntarily from France, to render it impossible for the king to seize his person. His reticence gave Henry strength.

Meanwhile Pole had arrived at Paris. At Lyons the news reached him, that the insurrection in England had been a failure; but this only rendered it more important that, as papal legate, he should enter into communication with the King of France. The legate, on reaching Paris, was of course received with due honour by the clergy, who went out of the gates to welcome him. This the king might say, if interrogated by the English minister, he could not prevent. Pole was received favourably by a people always ready for any ceremonial, military or ecclesiastical. But the court was not represented, nor was Pole invited to visit the king, though Francis was residing only at a short distance from the city. Instead of this, the legate received a friendly intimation from the king that his very life was in danger, and that his safest and best course would be to quit France as soon as possible. Pole could not remonstrate, for he was reduced to a dilemma. If he was a subject of the King of England, accused of a violation of the laws of the realm, and even of rebellion, he could not complain if Henry required of his ally the surrender of the offender. He might have argued that, by becoming a prince of the Roman Church, his allegiance was due to the pope and not to the king; but then, what right had the subject of a foreign power to intermeddle with the domestic politics of England? He could not hesitate,

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therefore, to act on the advice of the King of France, nor of the French king's conduct could he justly complain. Francis I. and Cardinal Pole had chosen to assist those whom the King of England had declared to be rebels—in so doing they violated the law of nations, and as they had sown so must they reap. That he must leave France was clear, but it was not so easy to determine whither he should afterwards direct his steps. The king ordered the legate of the apostolic see to be treated with due respect, but he expedited his departure, and did not dictate his future residence.

It is so difficult to understand the policy of these manœuvring potentates at this period of their history, that we can hardly account for all the difficulties to which Pole was exposed, and by which his proud spirit was chafed. The blunders both of Charles and Francis, during the preceding year, had rendered them desirous of peace; and when they could not crush Henry, they seem to have been prepared to receive him as the arbitrator. France and the adjoining districts were nearly reduced to a state of anarchy. The soldiers on the frontiers of Picardy, who scoured the borders separating France from Flanders and the territories on the Continent at that time occupied by the King of England, were little better than freebooters. To their cupidity was addressed a proclamation of the King of England, in which Reginald Pole was attainted as a traitor, and a price, fifty thousand crowns, placed on his head. It was not pleasant travelling under such circumstances; but Pole escaped and made the best of his way to Cambray, a neutral territory of which the bishop was the sovereign.* To the prince bishop he found him-

* Cambray was erected into a duchy or principality of the empire, in favour of the then bishop and his successors, by Maximilian I., in 1510.

self by no means a welcome guest; and though, as an ecclesiastic, that prelate could hardly refuse the rites of hospitality to a legate of the holy see, yet he warned the cardinal, that if the troops of Henry should appear with an intention of seizing his person, he possessed no adequate means for his protection. There were many Englishmen passing to and fro, and they might take with impunity, or rather with a high reward, the life of one who, under the penalties of a præmunire, was an outlaw. Pole, in great alarm, sent a despatch to Brussels, where Mary, Queen Dowager of Hungary, was, as we have observed, acting as viceroy. Before the legate had left Rome, he had been encouraged, by the ambassadors of the emperor, to seek and expect hospitality and protection in any part of the imperial dominions to which his duties might call him; but he now solicited the common courtesies of society in vain. The queen probably knew what the emperor's desire was; and his purpose was effected by delay, when she declined to act until she had received instructions from headquarters. Henry VIII., with that rapidity of mind which distinguishes a great man, whether statesman or general, had been beforehand with his rebel subject. The emperor was now as desirous of placing the English king under an obligation as Francis had been, and the political movement having failed, he had no feelings of personal friendship to induce him to appear as Pole's protector. The Prince Bishop of Liége* was at Brussels when the queen's council debated on the treatment to be accorded to Cardinal Pole; but he did not proffer the hospitality which the queen did not find herself at liberty to extend towards one who no longer approached her in the pomp

* The diocese of Liége was a bishopric belonging to the circle of Westphalia; the bishop was a prince of the empire, and claimed also the title of Duke of Bouillon.

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of a legate, but in the character of an unfortunate suppliant. A month passed on—a month of anxiety to the Bishop of Cambray, as well as to Reginald Pole. If Pole could reach Liége, he would be in comparative safety. To the Bishop of Liége, therefore, the Prince Prelate of Cambray wrote. An answer might have been returned in one day; but day after day came and went, without a letter from Liége. A difficulty arose as to the character under which Pole was to be received—on the one hand, here was an outlawed rebel of a king with whom the emperor wished to stand on good terms; on the other hand, there was a legate of Pope Paul III., with whom also the emperor, for political reasons, desired to sustain friendly relations. At the end of ten days, no written answer arrived, but a verbal message was sent. The Bishop of Liége was willing to receive Cardinal Pole as a legate of the holy see, with all the distinction usually accorded to so high a functionary; but Pole was warned that the dangers which beset him on the way were overwhelmingly great. He was surrounded by spies; snares were set for him in every direction;—the cardinal legate must travel in disguise. This proposal offended Pole's pride or his sense of propriety. He had come from Rome with a large retinue, and under circumstances of more than usual splendour, a royal legate—was he now to creep back to Italy, an unprotected outlaw, the laughing-stock of his enemies, an object of commiseration to his friends, having failed, through no fault of his own, when his expectations of success had been most strongly expressed? In a small sphere, similar feelings have been experienced by many who, conscious of an honest desire to benefit the public, have not detected how much of self intrudes itself at the same time in ambitious aims. The superstitions of the very freebooters would incline them to

treat with respect the procession of a cardinal legate ; but the pride of Pole was well aware that, under the prospect of realizing fifty thousand crowns, superstition itself might be overcome. Under these circumstances, Pole entreated his host to interpose his good offices ; and the good offices of the Bishop of Cambray were cordially exerted, to secure the departure of a guest whose presence was an unceasing source of anxiety. The archdeacon of the Bishop of Cambray, being sent on a mission to Brussels, succeeded at length in obtaining an escort, under the protection of which Pole made in safety his journey from Cambray to Liége.

Here Pole obtained a little respite from care, and enjoyed the repose of which, after his disappointments and anxieties, he stood so greatly in need. In his letters written at this time, he dwelt upon the grounds on which he had expected a successful termination of the insurrection in England ; and he was met in a kindly and sympathizing spirit by Paul III., and by his other friends in Italy.*

In the Prince Prelate of Liége he found a kind and generous friend ; and from him he learned that to the privy council of Flanders, of which the Bishop of Liége was a member, King Henry had made an offer of 4000 infantry, to be supported for ten months, if they on their part would surrender his rebel subject. This, however, would have involved Flanders in a quarrel with the pope, so that very little would have been gained, supposing them capable of such an act of baseness.

Pole had now ceased to act in his public capacity as legate ; and he applied to Contarini for an allowance from the papal treasury. Pole's tendency was to extravagance, and accordingly Contarini warned him of the importance

* The letters are to be found in the second volume of Quirini.

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of acting with economy. This produced a letter from Priuli, by the legate's desire, through which we obtain one of those glimpses of private life, which, though uninteresting to contemporaries, are always valued by posterity.

In the morning, the cardinal and his household pursued their private studies and devotions in their own apartments. About an hour and a half before dinner they were summoned to the private chapel, where the services were conducted by the Bishop of Verona, of whom mention has been made before, and who at that time held in the cardinal's household the office of Master of the Ceremonies. After the celebration of mass, they dined. While they dined, a selection from St. Bernard's works was read, and when the things were taken away, they conversed. On retiring from the dinner table, the Bishop of Verona generally read, to those who were willing to attend, Eusebius's "Preparation of the Gospel," a translation of which into Latin had been one of the new publications of the day. They again indulged in the pleasures of conversation, and passed the rest of their time as they pleased, until about an hour and a half before supper. After this they reassembled in the chapel, and said the vespers; when Reginald Pole expounded St. Paul's Epistles. At the request of his household, he took this office upon himself, and commenced the duty by explaining St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy: in doing this he enlarged on the duties of the clergy, especially on the duties which devolved on the superior order of ecclesiastics. He acquitted himself in these discourses to the satisfaction of all, but especially with the approval of the Bishop of Verona. Priuli, who was himself a scholar, remarked on the reverence, the humility, and sound judgment displayed by Pole in these expositions of Scripture. When the lecture was over, they enjoyed the sweet summer season, sometimes by taking a

walk on the beautiful banks of the Meuse, and not unfrequently by a row on the river. It was at these times that Pole appeared to the greatest advantage, and he thoroughly enjoyed himself. He would say to Priuli when strolling together, "*Certe, 'Deus nobis hæc otia fecit;'*" and he often adds, says the courtly Priuli, when writing to Contarini, "how I wish that my lord Contarini were here!"*

Pole remained at Liège from the beginning of June till the 21st of August. Although he passed his time pleasantly among his friends, yet he had the feelings of a disgraced man; feelings from which those who, having engaged in an important adventure and failed, cannot escape while they remain on the site of their failure. We are not surprised, therefore, to find Pole earnestly entreating for his recall; he desired a new sphere of action; and his petition at length was granted.

Pole's heart overflowed with gratitude to his kind and generous friend, the Bishop of Liège; and he caused letters of grateful acknowledgment to be despatched to the few among the statesmen in the Low Countries, who had treated him with sympathy and respect, notwithstanding the marked incivility of their government. The Bishop of Liège continued to load him with favours; he cancelled a debt which the cardinal, at his first coming, had incurred, and he presented him with two thousand crowns. This sum he requested him to expend on the purchase of a service of plate, that might always bear testimony to the affection and esteem he had learned to entertain for his guest. Pole accepted the present, and sent orders to Italy for the purchase of the plate adorned with the arms of his benefactor.

Pole had no reason to complain of want of attention as

* Quirini, *Diatriba ad Epistolas*, cv.

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he travelled through Germany. On arriving in Italy, he paid a visit to his friend, the Bishop of Verona, at Bovolona, a country seat belonging to the bishop in the Duchy of Mantua, watered by the Po. Here, too, he was visited by the family of his friend Cardinal Contarini, for whom he felt the attachment of a relative.

Flaminio came also from Verona to pay his respects to the cardinal, by whom he was persuaded to undertake a translation of the Psalms into Latin. From Bovolona Pole went to Ferrara by water; thence to Ravenna and Loretto. At Bologna he expected to meet Geri, Bishop of Fano, who had been with him in all his difficulties; but there he was shocked to find, not his friend, but a letter announcing that, in the prime of life, that friend was cut off, or rather was called to the Church triumphant.

At length the cardinal reached Rome. His mission having been a failure, he naturally felt some anxiety about his reception at head-quarters. His anxieties, however, were soon dispelled; for Paul III. met him with the cordiality of friendship, and the example of the pontiff was followed by the court. Paul III., who must have felt as deeply as any one the failure of those political measures from which he had anticipated such grand results, behaved with kindness and consideration to the humiliated legate. He generously shared the blame of the speculation with him; or, rather, he argued that blame could attach to no one, since they had been compelled to yield to the force of circumstances which it was impossible for any one to foresee or control.

No longer a legate, Reginald was prepared to retire into private life as a cardinal. He probably began to suspect, as was ere long discovered by politicians, that his talents were not those of a statesman. But the intel-

ligence, soon after received from England, again revived the hopes of the papal party. Although the late insurrections had come to nothing, still it was said that another might be expected. The Reformation in England was a movement of the middle classes of society, headed by Crumwell, a middle-class man. Neither the nobles nor the poor sympathized in it; and the poor, therefore, were always ready to rise, if a nobleman could be found to assume the command. The nobles had been generally purchased through the judicious distribution of the monastic property; but their inclinations, apart from their worldly interests, were with the anti-reformers. This was well known; and a conference, with a view of ascertaining how far and in what manner the insurgents could be encouraged and supported, was again held at Nice, in Provence, in June, 1538, between the pope, the emperor, and the King of France. On such an occasion Cardinal Pole was, of course, requested to accompany his holiness. The ostensible object of the meeting was to effect a reconciliation between the emperor and Francis I.

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Cardinal Pole was deeply gratified by the extreme courtesy with which he was now met by the emperor. The unacknowledged but suspected attachment between Pole and the Princess Mary was likely to interfere with some of the emperor's many matrimonial speculations in regard to his cousin; and Charles V. was aware, that Pole's influence with the English was not so great as the cardinal's friends were accustomed to represent it; at the same time, he was willing to enlist the talents of Pole in his service. With the proud condescensions of the emperor, Pole was prepared to rest contented. He was therefore taken agreeably by surprise when, on his approach to Nice, he was singled out as a special object of imperial favour.

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They had never met before, and Cardinal Pole was now in attendance upon the pope. As the papal procession was entering the town, the emperor, in military splendour, issued from a monastery in the neighbourhood. The cardinals, with their several suites, were directed to meet the emperor with the ceremonies usually observed on these occasions. A message came from the Chancellor Granvelle, that the emperor desired to have a private interview with the cardinal of England; and, to prevent jealousy, he assigned the reason—the emperor was under personal obligations to Cardinal Pole for the zeal evinced by the latter in the cause of the emperor's aunt, Katharine, Queen of England. Reginald Pole, accompanied by his secretary, from whom we obtain our information, waited upon the emperor at Villa Franca, where Charles kept his court. Although the emperor was employed, at the time of the cardinal's arrival, on public affairs, he admitted Pole immediately into his presence, welcomed him with the cordiality of a brother, and entered at once into conversation with him. Fresh news had arrived of the discontents in England; and although this subject was not immediately under discussion, nevertheless it was the subject which the emperor had most at heart. From the secret conferences between the emperor and Pole, and from an appearance of his being in the private confidence of the emperor, the cardinal of England partially regained the prestige which, on the failure of his late political speculations, he had lost.

At this meeting the emperor and the King of France came to a good understanding with one another. They again came to the determination, that the English, in their resolution to resist the revolutionary proceedings of their king, should be assisted. They were yet again to learn that the real power in England was in hands prepared to

assist the king, and that both the wealth and the intelligence of the nation were with him. Charles and Pole acted under the erroneous impression, that the insurrections in England had been a resistance to the innovations in religion; and therefore it was supposed, that a bull threatening an interdict to the people, and excommunicating the king, would drive both parties to despair. The people, it was presumed, to avert the evil, would threaten the king; and the threatened king, it was expected, would come to terms with the pope. Clement VII. had threatened Henry with excommunication; and in 1535, Paul III. had drawn up a bull; which, however, was not issued because it seemed to Francis to establish a precedent of which the consequences might be far from agreeable to kings in general. But now, at the conference at Nice, the feeling against Henry had become more vehement, on account of the spoliation of the shrine of St. Thomas. There was scarcely a noble family in Europe which had not placed a jewel on St. Thomas's shrine, and when his jewels were seized by Henry, they regarded themselves as robbed. If the shrine were to be destroyed, its treasures, it was contended, ought to have been returned to the original donors. Paul thought, at all events, that this was the fitting time for the publication of the bull; and in it he referred to the additional enormities of the heretical monarch. He excommunicated the king and his "complices," and declared all his subjects and vassals absolved from their oaths of allegiance and from all their other obligations.*

More offensive than this bull was a brief written to the King of Scotland, in which Henry was declared to be a heretic, a schismatic, a manifest adulterer and murderer, a rebel, and *convict of high treason against him, the pope, his*

* Cherubini, Bullarium, tom. i. 707. The bull of 1540 was chiefly a repetition of the bull of 1535.

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lord ; for which cause the pope had deposed Henry ; and he now offered his dominions to the King of the Scots, if he would undertake to invade them.* Another brief he sent, of similar import, to the King of France and other princes.

By no one was this bold measure more approved than by Reginald Pole. He could not divest himself of the notion, that the vast majority of the people of England would rise, as in the spirit of one man, to resist a tyrant, if only they could be sure of assistance from without. The fact that the emperor and the King of France had met a second time, and, still entertaining no friendly feelings the one towards the other, had concluded a ten years' truce must convince us that, although Pole was mistaken, he was not guilty of any egregious folly.

The English navy, at one time so efficient, had fallen into decay ; the harbours were unprotected. Ireland was in a state of rebellion ; everything depended upon the nerve and wisdom of the king ; and, although Henry rose again to the occasion, and soon compelled his enemies once more to seek his alliance or neutrality, his health was at this time failing.

From Nice Pole retired to a country-house of his friend Priuli, where he completed, enlarged, and prepared for publication his treatise "*De Unitate* ;" and in conversation with the friends who were able to visit him, or in letters to those who were at a distance, he felt that he had regained that character as a statesman, which he had lost under his former commission.

Of this he had a further proof when, in October, he returned to Rome. The pope was desirous of having the ten years' truce converted into a permanent peace between the emperor and the King of France. The emperor was a

* Lesly, Hist. Scot. 150.

Toledo, and Pole was sent to him as a legate from the papal see, with instructions, that from the emperor he should proceed to a conference with the French king. We possess a copy of the instructions given to the legate, which were to induce the two sovereigns to suspend their operations against the Turk—the common enemy of Christendom—in order that they might concentrate their forces so as, on the one hand, to compel Henry VIII. to acknowledge the papal supremacy, and, on the other, to labour conjointly for the extermination of the Lutheran heresy in Germany.* He was also to induce the emperor to support the pope in his determination to convene a general council, the council at Vicenza having failed through the hostilities between Charles and Francis.

Pole was more cautious on this occasion than on the last, and before approaching the emperor he communicated with his minister. Gattinara died in 1530, and he had been succeeded by Granvelle—Perrenot de Granvella—who may henceforth be regarded as the sole counsellor of Charles V. By the minister he was prepared for a less favourable reception at Toledo than he had been led to expect. There were passages in the treatise “De Unitate” which were justly offensive to all crowned heads; and, to conciliate the emperor, as well as to explain his conduct, Pole wrote that “Epistola ad Carolum Quintum” to which, in order that his principles may be understood, we have already referred. The legate was informed, that the King of England had again put forth his power, and had caused his enemies at home to tremble, and those at a distance to respect him. Henry had roused himself to action; the commotions in England had once more been quelled, the coasts were in an attitude of defence, a militia

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* Instructio pro Reverendissimo Cardinali Polo ad Cæsarem²⁸ Majestatem proficiscenti. Quirini, ii. cclxxix.

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was ready to meet any invader, and the king had now opened a communication with the Protestants in Germany. However willing the emperor might be to assist the pope, he would not do more than remonstrate with Henry, until Germany had been reduced to peace, and until the empire was freed from danger.

Before he left Rome, Pole had received a significant hint that, subsequently to the conference at Nice, difficulties had arisen, for he was directed to travel without a suite and in disguise. He had to perform the journey on horseback; and, as he mentions in a letter to Contarini, he could only proceed slowly, for the roads were bad, the cold was intense, and the snow lay deep. He reached Bologna. Here he lodged at the private house of Beccatelli, his secretary, and availed himself of the opportunity of writing, that very evening, to Contarini. Beccatelli entertained him with great hospitality, and prepared to accompany him on his journey. He intended, at Piacenza, to take a day's rest—needful both for man and beast. He asserted that he never, in all his life, felt the cold so intense, but he declared that nothing should prevent him from persisting in his journey—neither the length nor the difficulties of the way. The difficulties were indeed great, “*tamen, ut spero, iter durum vincet pietas.*”*

At Piacenza letters reached Pole from England, which rendered him anxious about his family, some members of which were already involved in his disgrace. It was therefore to him a great consolation to find his dear friend, the Bishop of Verona, awaiting his arrival. He had come to Piacenza, some days before, to make preparations for the continuance of the journey, on which he intended to accompany the cardinal. To a mind overwhelmed with

* The letter was written on the Feast of Epiphany, 1539. Ep. Poli, ii. 143.

anxiety there is nothing so consolatory as τὸ φίλον ὄμμα, and in the Bishop of Verona he had a sympathizing friend. He was cheered also by a kind communication from the pope, who transmitted certain autograph letters to the princes to whom Pole was accredited. For the arrival of these letters Pole had looked with so much anxiety, that it is clear he was fearful lest some change might have taken place in the counsels of the pope.

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We next hear of Pole at Carpentras, his favourite retreat, where he was the guest of his friend Sadoletto. He was deeply affected, as Sadoletto informs us, by the news from England, though he had not yet heard of his brother's execution. Nothing, however, could distract his mind at this time from public business. The injuries, real or imaginary, sustained by his family would indeed only exasperate him the more against the monarch who was thus able and willing to take his revenge.

At the end of January, he had reached Barcelona. He who had expected to enter Spain at the head of a princely retinue, to accompany the army by which England was to be invaded; and who had been confident that in England he would be received as a deliverer, to be matched with the king's daughter, and to be *de facto* king, now dismissed all his train except four; and prepared, as if engaged in an affair of which he was ashamed, to approach the Spanish court, at that time residing at Toledo.

If the aspect of affairs was not so favourable when Pole entered Spain as the cardinal's sanguine temperament may have led him to expect, there was, nevertheless, a prospect of success in the great object of his mission. Sir Thomas Wyatt was the representative of England at the court of Toledo; and the two nations being still at peace, Sir Thomas demanded that, in accordance with

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treaties then in existence, Reginald Pole, a subject of the King of England and a traitor, should not be received as an ambassador in the Spanish court. The emperor stated, in reply, that "if he were his own traitor, yet, coming from the holy father at Rome, he could not refuse him audience."* The English ambassador complained of what gave satisfaction to the legate—namely, that "in Spain all things be waxen from cold to coldest."

Pole was not consulted, but he received information occasionally from the minister, whose reports would at first be in accordance with the prevalent rumours of the day. It is difficult even now, with the confidential correspondence in our hands, to understand the policy of Charles at this crisis; and it must have been completely impossible to have done so in the time of Pole. A report prevailed that, at the instance of the court of Rome, the French ambassador had been recalled from the court of London, and that his example was soon to be followed by the ambassador of Charles. In London, the foreign merchants were preparing to sail to the Low Countries. In Flanders it was fully believed, according to a statement made by Crumwell to Bonner, that a league was formed between the French king, the emperor, and the Bishop of Rome; according to the terms of which the King of Scots, aided from the Continent, was to invade England from the north, while the fleet, now sailing in the narrow seas, was to invade it from the south; military preparations were conducted on a larger scale in the Netherlands: at the same time considerable sums of money were subscribed by the continental clergy; Henry VIII. was to be deposed,

* State Papers, viii. 155. For the whole historical statement given above, I refer the reader to the State Papers as my authority. Throughout the letters there are frequent allusions to "that false traitor Reginald," containing no further information concerning him, but showing how closely he was watched.

and the Princess Mary was to be married to the Duke of Orleans, who was to become King of England.

But very soon after Pole's arrival at Toledo, a revolution took place in the entire counsels of the emperor, by whom the cardinal was treated with marked contempt. This was the second time that all Europe had been agitated through what were now regarded as the unintentional misrepresentations of Reginald Pole. An Englishman of noble, of royal birth had been supposed to know not a little of the state of things in his native land. There were insurrections in the country; Pole regarded them, not as vulgar commotions, but as risings of an indignant people. At the head of these insurrections there were certainly some persons of noble birth; but Pole did not know, or would not understand, how exhausted were the finances of the nobles, and how diminished they were in numbers, since the wars of the Roses and the rigours of the late king's government. He was in reality very little more to be blamed than the other statesmen of the day; but when failure came, the blame was made to rest on his shoulders exclusively. The person, however, who really comes out of the crisis with character most damaged is Charles V. himself. He thought to profit by the necessities of a rival, with whom he had lived on terms of intimacy. Throughout these transactions, we must bear in mind, that the prevalent idea in Europe was the insecurity of the Tudor dynasty. Hence the readiness of the continental sovereigns to give credence to Pole. But now, a second time, Charles was made to understand, that the king whom he had thought to make his vassal, was a match for his enemies, under whatever shape they might conspire against him or make an attack. Henry had again quelled the commotions; Henry had rendered his own navy effective, and had converted the national marine into a means of national defence; he

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personally superintended every department, and was infusing his own resolute and patriotic spirit along the whole coast. All London was in arms. Charles, from his knowledge of Flanders, could understand, that the strength of England no longer lay in the harness of her nobles, reduced in numbers, and towards whom the sharp edge of the axe was ever pointed, held firm in the grasp of a pitiless Tudor: it no longer lay in an ill-armed multitude, easily swayed, and thinking only of plunder. He knew the strength of the middle classes, who, having risen to opulence, were resolved to defend what they possessed, when beset by noble or royal robbers, at home or from abroad. Pole, too, soon understood the position of affairs, and that in Spain he was in the way, from which, if he did not retire, he would soon be driven. He was treated with civility, but with coldness. He was to inform the pope of the emperor's goodwill; but before he could assist him elsewhere, Charles must first pacify Germany. He had no objection to remonstrate with Henry, if the pope desired it; but as to the bull of excommunication, it was written in language too strong; and whether the King of France concurred with the emperor in opinion or not, the decided opinion of the emperor was, that conciliatory measures must be first attempted.

The legate, dismissed from Spain, did not repair to the French court; for here also he had been forestalled by the vigilant ministers of Henry. On the strength of ancient treaties they demanded the surrender to the King of England of a rebel subject, if he should make his appearance in France.* Pole was desired by the pope not to

* The difficulties of the French court come out curiously in the letters. Bonner, writing to Crumwell, says, "Castillon, forgetting what he had said to my servant yesterday, and what this day afore dinner he

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return to Rome for the present; and therefore, on leaving Toledo, deeply mortified, he sought to calm his perturbed spirit and to refresh his wearied mind by repairing at once to his favourite retreat at Carpentras. Hence he sent a despatch to Rome, through his secretary, Beccatelli, explanatory of his conduct; while he opened negotiations with the King of France, through Vincent Parpalia, a minister of his household, who received kind words and polite speeches, and nothing more.

had told me, which is declared in the discourse, overshooting himself, told me that yesterday he did speak with the French king, saying, one time he was in his bed, another time that he was out of his bed, sitting by the bed's side, and showed unto him, as he said, the letters which I had sent to him touching Cardinal Pole, the copy whereof is now sent; and he saith the French king told him that he heareth nothing of the coming of Cardinal Pole; but he saith, if it be so, he shall have word within these three days, because these eight days he heard nothing from Monsieur de Tarbes. Also Castillon, being demanded of me what he supposed the French king would do, if Cardinal Pole would attempt to come hither, especially to attempt anything against the king my master, especially touching the censures; and first he said the king would not agree to it, afterwards, confounding himself, he said, that if Cardinal Pole came hither, it was to be supposed and thought that the emperor and he were of one accord. 'Why, sir,' quoth I, 'trow ye the French king for the Bishop of Rome's sake, or for the emperor's either, will admit a traitor and rebel to the king my master within France, and suffer him to do such things against my said master?' Castillon was so warbling and varying in his tale, that he wist not whether it were better to go forth in his tale, or to enter into a new matter; and surely he satisfied me far worse than ever he did, and this word escaped him, 'Propter Ducatum Mediolanensem they must study to gratify all parties.'"—State Papers, viii. 172.

In another letter from Wyatt that minister says, "My Lord, take this in haste. Know ye that Pole the cardinal cometh after this courier to the French king, to solicit against the king our master. I suppose it shall be your office to make preparative with the French king, to demand him according to the treaties, the whilst ye receive other advertisement from the king. Further, believe this bearer; and I recommend me unto your lordship. At Toledo the 23rd of February.

"Tho. Wiat."

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Pole was thoroughly wretched. Disgraced as a statesman, he was reduced to such poverty as to be obliged to seek for a remittance from the papal government to defray the ordinary expenses of his household. He begged to be no longer employed in the public service, and urged Contarini to plead his cause with the pope. Paul III. continued to behave with considerate kindness; he expressed himself satisfied with the legate's conduct, and supplied him with money. *

Of consolation the unfortunate Reginald certainly stood in need. The bad news from England, already alluded to, was confirmed. Not only had his expectations failed of a successful rising of the people against one whom he regarded as a tyrant, but who was in truth a popular king; but Pole's machinations had brought his family into peril, for they had evidently sympathized with him, and had encouraged his proceedings, though we know not to what extent. They were in Henry's power. With reference to the actions brought against the several members of the Pole family, Lord Herbert says: "The particular offences of these great persons are not so fully known to me that I can say much."

In the November of 1538, the Marquis of Exeter and the Lord Montague were suddenly arrested and sent to the Tower. Sir Edward Neville followed the next day, and not long after the venerable Margaret, the mother of Reginald Pole. The proximity of the scaffold to the Tower was too well known. Pole was in a disposition to regard the sufferers of his family as martyrs. What gave poignancy to his affliction was the disgrace brought upon the Pole family by Sir Geoffrey Pole. Sir Geoffrey, the younger brother of the cardinal, was a traitor to his family; and, to save his own life, he gave or invented the evidence, which, eventually, sent

his brother, his kinsman, and his noble mother to the scaffold.

The probability of their being involved in treasonable correspondence with Reginald is so great, that we should have been ready to believe it without severely scrutinizing the evidence, even if the evidence were produced. But, as we have had occasion elsewhere to observe, the documents relating to the state trials in Henry's reign have been tampered with or destroyed. However much we may pity human suffering, they were justly regarded by the re-established government, for the overthrow of which they had laboured, in the light of traitors; and we cannot complain if they were doomed to a traitor's death.

Reginald's own attainder followed soon after; and his life being forfeited to the laws of his own country, any loyal subject, who might have planted a dagger in his heart, would have been regarded by the laws of England as having performed a meritorious act. Pole's only protection was in the fact, that on the Continent his person was sacred; and that in foreign lands an assassin could not expect to escape with impunity. The amount of mental suffering he had to endure must have been very great; and, although he retained a few friends like Contarini, many, who had formerly been his flatterers, were to be found among the most eager to bring charges against him. Among other things, his conduct seemed to them unaccountable, in that he had not visited the court of the King of France, since to the King of France he had been accredited as a legate as much as to the emperor. He had an excuse sufficient in the hint he had received, that his appearance in the character of a legate would have been anything but acceptable to the French king. He denied, that he was prevented from going by his fears, though he

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contended, that it was useless to expose himself to danger and his country to insult, when no good purpose was to be answered. He acted, therefore, on his own judgment. He placed the state of affairs before the pope, and waited for the commands of his holiness. He was ready to obey orders ; but no directions came.

We are not surprised at the indignation which his second failure excited among the great statesmen of the Continent. Twice had the pope, the emperor, and the King of France been induced to act in defiance of treaties ; twice had they astonished Europe by their extensive armaments ; with hostile feelings they had formed a truce when they declined a peace ; they had everywhere boasted that the Reformation was so unpopular in England that the people were ripe for rebellion ; that the monarch, whom the policy of Wolsey had raised to the foremost rank among the princes of Europe, was about to be humbled to the dust. They might justly be offended with the man who had made them the laughing-stock of the English, instead of the conquerors of England.

Contarini sincerely pitied his friend, and the pope, through Contarini's influence, acted kindly towards him. In order to obtain for Pole some mark of distinction from the papal court, Contarini devised a measure which only serves to show how entirely ignorant they were at Rome of the state of public feeling in England.

The see of Salisbury had been vacant by the death of Cardinal Campeggio, who received it from Henry VIII., and held it *in commendam*. At Campeggio's death, in 1535, the bishopric of Salisbury was conferred by Henry on Dr. Shaxton. But this act was to be ignored by the pope, and an old law revived, to the existence of which in former times we have had frequent occasion to refer. The pope claimed the right of appointing to any preferment

vacant by the death of an incumbent during his attendance at the court of Rome. Campeggio, a cardinal, was of course in this predicament; and the see of Salisbury, though filled by the chapter and the King of England, was regarded by the Roman lawyers as still at the disposal of his holiness. The see of Salisbury, therefore, was offered to Cardinal Pole. That offer, in a letter we still possess, Pole entreated permission to decline. The emoluments he would not be allowed to enjoy—so far as *they* were concerned, he might, he remarked, as well be nominated Bishop of Antioch. If Henry should hereafter be deposed and the papal supremacy be established in England, it was not necessary to make him nominally the Bishop of Salisbury, in order that he might hereafter become so in reality, for he would then have the choice of the best preferments of the land; meanwhile, the indignation of the English would be such as to render them more than ever determined to resist all papal aggression; and, knowing his countrymen as he did, he knew the amount of ridicule with which his pretensions would be treated.* He desired that even the *offer* of the bishopric might be kept a secret. He always dwelt in his letters and conversation on the sacrifices he had made for the papal cause; such boasting could not be repeated if it could be retorted that he had been an applicant for the emoluments of a bishopric the duties of which he could not discharge. He expressed himself deeply indebted to Paul for the high honour he had proposed to confer upon him; but he con-

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* I have reconciled in the text the statements of Quirini and the letter of Pole with the fact that Shaxton was appointed to Salisbury in 1535, being consecrated at St. Stephen's on the 11th of April (see Stubbs, 77). No attempt was made on the part of the pope to appoint to the see when first it was vacant; but the claim was revived by Contarini, as it seems to me, to seek to do honour to the unhappy Pole.

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cludes by saying, "Before all bishoprics, at the present time I feel it needful, that a retreat should be given me, as to a wounded soldier returning from war. I require time for the healing of my wounds of which I have written in other letters. If you obtain for me this permission to retire, you will obtain everything which at this time I can desire; the rest let us leave to God: may He constantly protect you with His right hand, and comfort you with His Spirit. Farewell. Carpentras, Aug. 16, 1539." *

Pole remained in retirement until, towards the close of the year, he was summoned to Rome on business. He quitted Carpentras with regret at the beginning of October. He went with a heavy heart, and, we may conclude from his letters, not without fear lest an attempt should be made on his life.† He dreaded the sight of his countrymen, and suspected a dagger concealed on the person of every Englishman who approached him. He went, by way of Marseilles and Nice, through Piedmont, and arrived at Verona. Here he remained for some time, on a visit to his old friend Giberti, whose episcopal court, as we have seen, was the resort of men not less distinguished for the purity of their lives than for their eminence in every department of literature.

At last, depressed in spirits, he arrived in Rome, where he was received with affectionate kindness by Contarini and his other friends: they were all anxious to dispel the gloom that pervaded his mind.

When Contarini was despatched to represent the pope at the Diet of Ratisbon, he corresponded with Pole, and Pole urged him strongly to make the great doctrine of justification by faith only the basis of all the reforms he

* Ep. Poli, ii. 188.

† Ibid. ii. 191-199.

should propose.* Pole was enabled to return the kindness of Contarini by undertaking to look after his interests at Rome. Contarini complained, as Pole had done before, that the expenses of his legation exceeded his income, and that he required an increased allowance from the government. We see in the English State Papers, that similar complaints were made by our own diplomatists. It would seem, that the statesmen of Europe were expected to consider the honour of serving their country a sufficient remuneration, and that those services should be given gratuitously. When this is the case, a government must be, in the end, defrauded; for the ministers must contrive, by indirect means, to secure an income sufficient to maintain their position. In Contarini's case, he found an able friend in Pole, who obtained the addition to his salary, which he persuaded the pope to be absolutely necessary.

But Pole was not by any means comfortable at this period in Rome. Ascanio Colonna, having refused to acquiesce in a monopoly of the sale of salt, claimed by the papal government, resisted the agents of the pope; and having armed his followers, and provisioned the castles in his own dominions, was continually making sallies and predatory excursions to the very walls of Rome. To resist him Paul III. collected a large body of troops; and they, under the command of Pier Luigi Farnese, Duke of Castro, were sent to attack the Colonna fortresses. Although, in spite of the interference of the emperor, the pope was eventually successful, Rome and the country round were, through these circumstances, reduced almost

* Contarini when at Ratisbon published a treatise on justification, to which the reader may be referred if he wishes to see how entirely Contarini's view of justification coincided with that of the Protestants, and Pole was one with him.

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to a state of anarchy.* Armies were, at that time, composed of adventurers from foreign lands, who, having no sympathy with the natives whose cause they were paid to serve, were always ready to plunder friend as well as foe. Among the troops on either side were Englishmen; by English law it was a meritorious act to take the life of an outlawed English rebel; and Pole, always timid, began to fear that the Roman government would not, under existing circumstances, be able to protect him. He removed, therefore, to Capranica, a small town celebrated for its mineral waters, and beautifully situated beneath the hills of Bracciano.

Here he lived in retirement. Both the emperor and the King of France, when Pole ceased to be legate, overwhelmed him with professions of kindness. From them and in other quarters he laboured to obtain some appointment worthy of his royal birth.† Paul III. at last had compassion on him, and rewarded his fidelity by appointing him—foreigner though he was—to be the governor or delegate of that portion of the papal estates called the Patrimony of St. Peter, of which Viterbo, where he now took up his abode, was the capital. Pole calls his office the Legation of the Patrimony.

This province is situated between the Tiber, the sea, and the frontiers of Tuscany. The town itself stands on the base of the ridge of Monte Cimino, commonly called *Montagna di Viterbo*, about forty miles from Rome. It had formed part of the dominions of the Countess Matilda, who bequeathed it to the see of Rome. Here the popes had frequently found protection when they were driven, by turmoil and commotion, from Rome.

* Guidiccioni, 97.

† This he admits in his letter to Paul III.—a remarkably good letter, in a style more simple than Pole usually employs. Quirini, iii. 32.

The Legation was a high and important office to which Pole was now called ; and he commenced his administration by an act which, in an age when little regard was had for human life, must redound to his credit. Two Englishmen were apprehended, and upon their apprehension confessed their object to have been to assassinate Reginald Pole. They were brought before the cardinal, who spared their lives, and only condemned them for a few days to the galleys, that they might tell their countrymen the misery to which they might be subjected for life, even if the life of the assassin were to be spared.

Beccatelli was his secretary ; and on one occasion he appeared with despatches from various parts of the world. There were letters from France, Spain, and Flanders. The secretary was desired to read them, to report their contents, and to suggest the answers, before receiving the final commands of the cardinal. On folding up the letters to carry them to his private apartments, Beccatelli saw that one of them was from England, and not being acquainted with the English language, he submitted it to the inspection of Pole himself. Pole opened the letter. He remarked to Beccatelli, "I wish you could read the letter, that through your own eyes you might become acquainted with the good news." There was that in the solemn countenance of Pole which seemed to belie his words ; but he proceeded : "Until this time, I thought myself highly favoured among men, for that I was descended from one of the best and most noble of women. On this blessing I prided myself, and to the Divine goodness I was ever grateful. But by Almighty God a still higher honour has been conferred upon me—I am the son of a martyr : the Countess of Salisbury has perished on the scaffold."

Beccatelli was interrupted when he began to produce

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the commonplaces of consolation. "Let us," said Reginald, like a true son of Margaret, "rejoice that we have now in heaven another advocate." *

He quitted the room. He remained for an hour in his oratory. On his return, he appeared with a cheerful countenance, as of one who had found grace to feel as well as to say, "Father, not my will, but Thine be done." He ordered masses to be said for the repose of his mother's soul; but, instead of having recourse to the ancient rites of the Church of England, he appointed the *De Profundis* to be performed, according to the more modern use of the Romish Church.

He received a letter of condolence from Vittoria Colonna, the Marchesa di Pescara. Her letter has not been, as far as I know, preserved. Pole's reply is to be found among his epistles:—

"At the present time so few things afford me satisfaction or comfort, that I am all the more grateful to thy Excellency for the consolation and pleasure which thy letter has afforded me. But elegantly as thy letter is written, and admirably as the topics of consolation are applied to one who is broken-hearted, yet, truth to say, it is not the letter itself that I value, but the fact that the letter was evidently inspired by Him who is the Comforter and Paraclete, the author of all true and lasting consolation. As He is the guide of thy actions, so I perceive thy Excellency looks to Him as the inspirer of thy writings. He warns me in that letter that it is in the cause of Christ that I have

* Beccatelli, Dudithius, 97. Pole, with his usual want of straightforwardness, would make it appear that his mother suffered on account of her religious opinions. There is no proof that her religious opinions differed from those of Henry VIII. She complied with all the reforms of the age. She died because it was asserted that she had held secret treasonable correspondence with her sons. What we complain of is, that we cannot produce the evidence by which the charges, as alleged, were substantiated.

to labour; and since in that cause I am not conscious of having failed in my duty, but have laboured, by the grace of Christ, to the utmost of my ability, for the promotion of His glory, if I find impediments rather than assistances, or even that my way is beset with impediments, does it not follow that I must cease to trust in man, and seek consolation only in Christ? My consolation is, that to Him all praise has been given in heaven and on earth, and His lovingkindness and His care of those that are His—that is, of those for whose salvation, to the glory of His name, we labour—is far greater than any we can evince towards ourselves. In this faith how can we doubt but that, when the time has come appointed by God the Father, to whom only the times and seasons are known, in a moment of time all impediments will be removed, and all things will be accomplished beyond our most sanguine hopes? He, in the mean time, will not condemn our works performed through His grace, even if in what we most desire we may not be successful; for we know not what may be really for our good;—our labour will not be in vain. He knows what is good for us, and in His own good time will correct what is amiss in us. Blessed be His holy name, now and ever—Amen.”*

He proceeds in the same strain of piety, and, towards the conclusion, he adverts to Vittoria's promise of engaging the prayers of the nuns among whom she was lodging, in union with her own, in his behalf. He sought for protection through the prayers of piety; and they who supported him by their prayers in the Church militant, were regarded by him as cohorts enlisted in his defence, exposed as he was to assaults or ambushes on every side, devised by Pharaoh—Henry VIII.—for his destruction. He had a right to ask her Excellency's prayers, for, from the time that he discovered the virtues with which God had endowed her, he had held her in the deepest reverence; and now that the fury of Pharaoh

* Ep. Poli, iii. 77.

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had robbed him of the mother who gave him birth, he had taken her Excellency into that honoured mother's place.

Knowing as we do the severities which Pole ordered or did not oppose, at the termination of his career, we read with interest the unanimous testimony borne to the leniency of his government at Viterbo. They who have any knowledge of human nature are aware, that the selfish man may indulge his selfishness in praise received for kind conduct at one time, and yet at another time he may yield, in self-defence, to the policy which suggests severities amounting to persecution.

Although a cardinal, Pole, it will be recollected, was not at this time in full orders. "He had only received the tonsure," says Phillips, "by which those are initiated who design themselves for the clergy." Beccatelli, therefore, records it as a sign of personal piety in Reginald Pole, that, although he was a cardinal, he had such reverence for the clergy, that whenever mass was celebrated in his chapel, he himself performed the office of acolyte, and condescended to robe and unrobe the officiating priest. He received the holy communion every Sunday; and, without neglecting his official duties of governor, he devoted himself to theological studies.

His court was a model of propriety, a rare occurrence at that time in Italy; and he gathered around him a society, for social and literary meetings, of his friends, including persons of both sexes. Among these was frequently Vittoria Colonna, who took up her abode in the neighbouring convent of St. Catarina. Carnesecchi, of whom mention has been formerly made, was a frequent visitor; and besides Priuli, Marco Antonio Flaminio was an inmate of his house. In a letter to Contarini, Pole says that he found edification and comfort in the society

which he had gathered around him, and that he only wanted the presence of Contarini himself to make his happiness complete. He had, indeed, some trouble with Flaminio, who, during a visit to Naples, had fallen into the hands of Valdes; and had returned to Viterbo with those sceptical notions, of which, as we have shown in another place, he was disabused by Pole. The discussions, however, into which he was led by the honest doubts of an ingenuous youth, while they served to invigorate his mind, tended in their result to add to his comfort.

It was about this time that the "Beneficio di Christo" appeared. It was read at Viterbo. It was read everywhere. Thousands of copies were printed and sold. By whom was it written? This was the question in every one's mouth; and, in order to find an answer, those who had not read, proceeded to purchase it. The great unknown, who is he? This was a question sometimes asked with a simper, as if the querist would wish himself to be suspected. It was afterwards denounced as heretical, but not at first, because, until the Council of Trent had completed its sessions, the doctrine of justification by faith only, as we have had frequent occasion to remark, was considered an open question.

With the history of this remarkable book the name of Pole is so nearly associated, that we must devote to it more than a passing notice.

"Il Beneficio di Christo," a treatise on the benefit derived by Christians from the death of Christ, sometimes called "the little golden book," was published anonymously;* but

* See The Benefit of Christ's Death: reprinted in fac-simile from the Italian edition of 1543; together with a French translation printed in 1551: to which is added an English Version made in 1548, by Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire. With an introduction by Churchill Babington, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 8vo. Camb.

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the fact of its being very generally attributed to Pole, on its first appearance in the world, is valuable as showing what was, in the opinion of the age, the tendency in dogmatics of Pole's mind. Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d'Istria writing of the book some time after its publication, observes, "Many are of opinion, that there is scarcely a book of this age, or at least in the Italian language, so sweet, so pious, so simple, so well fitted to instruct the ignorant and weak, especially in the doctrine of justification. I will say more—Reginald Pole, the valued friend of Morone, is esteemed the author of it, or partly so; at least, it is known that he, with Flaminio, Priuli, and his other friends, defended it, and laboured for its circulation." *

This last assertion is undoubtedly true, for by Vittoria Colonna the funds were supplied for the expense of printing it; and, with the view of circulating it in his diocese, Morone edited the edition which issued from the Verona press.

The history of the work is remarkable. So popular was it in the 16th century, that in Verona alone 40,000 copies were sold in six years. It was circulated in almost every country of Europe—in Italy, in Germany, in Austria, in England, France, and Spain, and it was translated everywhere into the vernacular. Fifty thousand copies at least were sold. It became one of the commonest books in the world; and yet in the middle of the 19th century it had become one of the rarest. It was plain, that the Romish Inquisitors had done their work completely, and that almost every copy had been destroyed. The original and its numerous translations, it was supposed, had all perished together. Neither Schellhorn nor

1855. The reader may also be referred to *The Trial and Martyrdom of Pietro Carnesecchi*, by Richard Gibbings, B.D.

* Schellhorn, xii. 537.

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Dr. McCrie, after the most diligent inquiries, were able to discover a copy. Gerdese exclaimed in despair, that it had withdrawn itself from the eyes of men. It is seldom that anything can escape the researches of the indefatigable Ranke, but here he failed. Macaulay, without making any search or inquiry, with his witty dogmatism, affirmed, that the "Beneficio" was as hopelessly lost as the second decade of Livy. There is, however, a class of scholars who are only provoked by ignorant dogmatism to increased exertion; and they find pleasure in the discovery of truth, even when it bears upon subjects of no very great importance. Mr. Babington discovered, that at the very time when these expressions of literary despair were uttered, two copies of the original were silently reposing in safe quarters; not unknown, though known only to a chosen few. One copy was in the possession of B. Kopitar, the late librarian at Vienna, and the other in a closet of the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, locked up with other books and manuscripts of extreme rarity.* Through the care of Mr. Babington, the work has been reprinted and carefully edited; and thus has been restored to the public, a treatise the recovery of which was deemed hopeless.

The discovery is the more valuable, for authors have, of late years, appeared who, not believing in the truths of Christianity themselves, and confounding Christian verities with Romish fictions, have laboured to make it appear that the great and good men who endeavoured to effect a reformation of the Italian Church, had a tendency to Socinianism, thereby placing a weapon of defence in the

* The Rev. Mr. Cowie, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, had made it publicly known in 1843, that the original was in St. John's library. See his catalogue of MSS. and scarce books in St. John's College Library, referred to by Mr. Babington, lxxi.

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hands of the Romanist, who would confound reformation with infidelity.

With respect to the authorship opinions are divided, although it is universally admitted that it was revised by Flaminio, the constant companion, at this time, of Pole.* It is attributed by many to Aonio Paleario, a native of Vesoli, in the Campagna di Roma. He was one of the distinguished literary society in which Pole moved, and fell a victim to the intolerant violence of Pius V.; or, rather, through his instrumentality Paleario became a martyr. He was delivered over by the pope to the tender mercies of the Inquisition. The chief accusation brought against him, according to Laderchi, was his having published "a little book, in which he artfully concealed the mortal poison of heresy."

After giving to the subject the best attention I can, I have come to the conclusion, that the work may have been drawn up by some unknown author, and then forwarded for revision to the leading scholars and divines in Italy. The friends of those to whose revision the work was subjected, and by whom its several parts were brought under discussion, would lead many to the conclusion that, when the name of the author was asked, they possessed the clue by which to find an answer to the enigma. In order to divert the attention from any particular individual, all the persons consulted were willing to create a suspicion of their own share in the com-

* By Schelhorn, Gerdese, Bayle, and others the work is attributed to Aonio Paleario: the question is fairly and candidly discussed by Mrs. Young in her life of Aonio Paleario (pp. 340, 341), who is prejudiced in favour of Aonio Paleario. See also M. Jules Bonnet's Paleario, p. 138. Ranke evidently inclines to the opposite view of the case, without giving a decided opinion. Mr. Gibbings attributes it to Carnesecchi. Mr. Churchill Babington is of opinion that Pole did not write it, but that he knew something about it.

position, though, when asked authoritatively by whom the book was written, they could truly say they could not tell—for it was in fact the work of many minds. No one who is acquainted with the acknowledged works of Reginald Pole, and has read the “Beneficio,” can entertain the opinion that he was the author of a book written in a style so simple and severe. But it is easy to understand how, from his position and his relation to the many persons consulted in the composition of the work, the book might have been attributed to him by contemporaries to whom both his writings and his real character were unknown.

Before Pole’s career was finished his character was beginning to be understood by some of the more discerning writers of the age. When this work was first published, Vergerio was among the earliest who attributed it to Pole; and we may believe that it represented his real opinions, probably as they continued, with some modifications, to the last. But at a later period, we find the same Vergerio writing of Pole, in connection with the “Beneficio,” in a very different strain. Pole was suspected to be acting a disingenuous part with respect to this very work. Vergerio states that, with respect to the “Beneficio di Christo,” it had been attacked by a friar—Ambrosio Catarino; “but that another good person, of talent and spirit—Flaminio—has undertaken to defend it, and has composed a *dolce libro*, and given it into the hands of a cardinal—Cardinal Reginald Pole—who, report says, is enlightened, knows the errors of the Church, and has tasted the sweetness of the Gospel. He has certainly many noble qualities; but if this cardinal does not now let the defence of this book, which he has in his possession, see the light, and does not declare himself by saying it is good, I shall be of opinion that the report speaks false, and that he is not animated by the feelings

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for which many have given him credit. He is accustomed to say that he must be prudent, and wait for a suitable time and opportunity. This sounds well; but the favourable time and opportunity will never come, now that so many people seek in such various ways to deny the benefits and glory of Christ. When will he declare himself and make himself known as His soldier, if he does not do it now that Christ, in His members, is so much combated, tormented, and afflicted? We shall now look to see what this cardinal will do. May God give him courage, for it is quite time that he and all his followers declare themselves." *

Nevertheless, how thoroughly, though unconsciously, Protestant, Pole and the other great divines of Italy had become, is pointed out by Ranke and McCrie. "If we inquire," says the former, "what was the faith which chiefly inspired these men, we shall find that the main article of it was the same doctrine of justification which, as preached by Luther, had given rise to the whole Protestant movement." Contarini wrote a treatise upon it, of which Pole speaks in the highest praise. "You have brought to light the jewel," says he, "which the Church kept half concealed." Pole himself was of opinion that Scripture, taken in its profoundest connection, preaches nothing but this doctrine. He esteems his friend happy in that he had been the first to promulgate "this holy, fruitful, indispensable truth." The same fundamental verity was at this time held by Flaminio also, whom Contarini wished to take with him into Germany. The following passage shows how distinctly he taught this doctrine: "The Gospel," says he, in one of his letters, "is no other than the blessed tidings that the only-begotten Son of

* This passage occurs in the Catalogue of Vergerio, of which rare book there is a copy in the British Museum.

God, clad in our flesh, hath made satisfaction for us to the justice of the eternal Father. He who believes this enters into the kingdom of God; he enjoys the universal pardon; from a carnal he becomes a spiritual creature; from a child of wrath, a child of grace; he lives in a sweet peace of conscience. It is hardly possible to use language of more *orthodox* Lutheranism!" *

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McCrie, referring to this celebrated treatise on justification, by Gaspar Contarini, remarks: "It is impossible to read the treatise on justification, drawn up by him when he acted as legate at the diet and conference held at Ratisbon, in 1541, together with the letters which passed between him and Pole at that time, without being convinced that both these prelates agreed with the reformers on this article, and differed widely from Sadoletto and others, whose sentiments were afterwards sanctioned by the Council of Trent." Pole tells him that he "knew long ago what his sentiments on that subject were;" that he rejoiced at the treatise which Contarini had composed, "because it laid not only a foundation for agreement with the Protestants, but such a foundation as illustrated the glory of Christ—the foundation of all Christian doctrine, which was not well understood by many; that he and all who were with him at Viterbo joined in giving thanks to God, who had begun to reveal this sacred, salutary, and necessary doctrine;" and that its friends ought not to be moved by the censures which it met with at Rome, where it was "charged with novelty," although "it lies at the foundation of all the doctrines held by the ancient Church." †

* Ranke, Hist. of the Popes, i. 92.

† See Pole's letters to Contarini of the 17th May and 16th July, 1541, and 1st May, 1542. *Epistolæ Reginaldi Poli*, vol. iii. pp. 25, 27-30, 53. Quirini, besides what is contained in his Dissertations prefixed to Pole's letters, attempted to defend what he calls Contarini's

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Luther, it is well known, would not listen to the proposals for peace made at what was called the Pacification of Ratisbon, and his opposition is sometimes ascribed to mere party feeling, or personal motives. We would rather attribute it to the wonderful sagacity of his powerful mind. He saw from the beginning, that the doctrine of justification by faith only upset the whole dogmatic teaching by which the Church of Rome is distinguished from the rest of Christendom. Do away with the Romish dogma of justification by inherent righteousness—the dogma made Romish at the Council of Trent—and man remains a sinner to the last. The greatest saint is only a sinner pardoned, and requires pardon to the last. Admit this, he said, and the whole notion of supererogatory merit is at once abolished, and with it Mariolatry and saint worship, purgatory, indulgences, and everything pertaining to meritorious action. Luther, when he saw men professing to accept the doctrine of justification by faith only, and yet defending the tenets of Romanism, which this dogma at once annihilated, treated them as deceivers. It was not, however, their heart, it was their logic which was at fault.

This was soon perceived by men less true-hearted but more clear-headed than Pole or even Contarini; and in establishing Romanism at the Council of Trent, the doctrine of justification by faith only, as opposed to the doctrine of justification by inherent righteousness, was denounced as a heresy. Because they continued to hold it, Pole and his friends, though consulted and employed at the opening of the Council of Trent, were soon put on one side.

orthodoxy in a separate tract, entitled, *Epistola ad Gregorium Rothfischerum, Brixiae, 1752*, to which Jo. Rud. Kieslingius replied in his *Epistola ad Eminent. Princ. Angelum Mariam Quirinum, de Religione Lutherana amabili*, Lips. 1753.

At one period of his life, indeed, the Inquisition threatened Pole, though a cardinal at the time, with a prosecution for heresy; under which charge some of his friends, Paleario himself, suffered martyrdom.

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Pole, except during the reign of Paul III., was not always a favourite at Rome; but by his devotion to the Roman pontiff and the interests of the Roman see, he was able to surmount the hostility of those who saw, what he himself did not, the Protestant tendency of his doctrine. When, through his enmity to Henry VIII., his passions were enlisted on the side of the pope, his devotion to the papacy became a fanaticism. His violence in favour of papal supremacy, in conjunction with his doctrinal system,—scarcely, if at all, to be distinguished from Protestantism,—involved him in many inconsistencies and considerable difficulties. Even to the last, as we have before remarked, the pope, in whose cause he was ready to die, never trusted him; and if Rome could have done without him, he would never have been the primate of England.

We may best understand Pole's position by stating, that he was at this time, and long continued to be, in doctrine a Protestant, in discipline a papist. He regarded the pope as the centre of unity in the Church: on the bishop devolved the care of the souls in his diocese; the metropolitan was to superintend the bishops, and the metropolitans themselves were subject to the pope. He did not, as we have observed before, perceive, as Luther did, how an assertion of the doctrine of justification by faith only would, in its development, overthrow the various papal doctrines on which the papal throne really rested; but we know what his feeling up to the time of his writing his "De Unitate" was, from one of his recorded sayings, that a man should be satisfied with his own inward convictions, without troubling himself whether

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errors and abuses exist in the Church or not.* As in an empire abuses may exist which a patriot may seek, if opportunity were to offer, to reform, while to the sovereign he may still be loyal, so might it be, according to Pole, in the Church.

It would have been well for Pole if he had always continued under the influence of this sentiment, however intrinsically false. The happiest years of his life were the four years he passed at Carpentras and Padua, on his return to the Continent, and those in which, during his residence in Viterbo, he won golden opinions of all sorts of men. But this world is not to be our resting-place. Death was depriving him of many friends of whom he had been accustomed to take sweet counsel; and he was overwhelmed with affliction on the death of the saintly Vittoria Colonna. He was also a timid man, and, as such, he became alarmed at the state of public affairs. Hitherto Italian divines, loyal to the papacy, had given their opinions on theological dogmas openly and without restraint. He saw that the time was coming when men would be made offenders for a word.

After the conference of Ratisbon, Paul III. gave up all hopes of conciliating the Protestants; and he heard with alarm that disputes were rife in Italy in regard to some of the peculiarities of the Roman ritual, especially in what related to the mass and purgatory. He sought the advice of Pole's former acquaintance—a man destined, as Paul IV., to become his deadliest enemy—Gianpietro Caraffa, Bishop of Chieti, and commonly called the Cardinal Teatino. This man, formerly one of the reforming party, had now entirely changed his opinions, and recommended

* Ranke, i. 98. Clario, one of the reforming party, affirmed that "no corruption can be so great as to justify a secession from Rome."

the establishment in Rome, with increased authority and power, of the tribunal of the Inquisition. The Inquisition, as originally connected with the Dominicans, had fallen into decay in all countries except in Spain; it was indeed reported that among those who presided at this tribunal several had themselves become the promulgators, in secret, of opinions they were established to suppress. In Spain, the tribunal had been taken out of the hands of the Dominicans, and had been more efficiently established. Caraffa, calling to his councils Juan Alvarez de Toledo, recommended the establishment in Rome of a tribunal on the Spanish model, with the pope at its head, and with authority to carry on its operations wheresoever it could obtain a footing. The Jesuits boast that to this proposal Ignatius Loyola gave his cordial assent; and when the bull was published authorising the tribunal, on the 21st of July, 1542, Caraffa and Toledo, as commissaries of the see of Rome, became general and universal inquisitors on either side of the Alps. The decision of all ecclesiastical courts in national churches might be set aside; the inquisitors obtained the right of delegating persons with powers similar to their own whenever they thought fit, and they constituted themselves a court of final appeal. No rank, no ecclesiastical dignity, was exempt from their jurisdiction; they might imprison the suspected, and execute, in private or in public, all whom they considered guilty. Caraffa, at his own expense, opened a court, with the necessary prisons and all the terrible apparatus of an office miscalled holy, near the lower bank of the Tiber, which the Romans call Ripetta.* He nominated commissaries; and, according to Ranke, the first commissary he appointed at Rome was his own chap-

* Bernino, iv. 485.

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lain, Teofilo di Tropea, of whose severity several cardinals, and among them Pole, complained.*

Reginald Pole was so alarmed at these proceedings, that he determined to give up his government and retire completely into private life. He went back to his old home at Verona; and there he remained in a monastery, seeking that rest of mind which his failing health required.

But in retirement he was not long to remain. Paul III. retained his kindly feeling towards him, and felt that an English cardinal was as a card in his hand which it was necessary to play.

For a long period, the authorities at Rome resisted or evaded the convocation of a general council. The councils in the preceding century, while upholding papal doctrine, were decidedly antipapal; and although public opinion in Italy had changed, and papal authority was upheld, while the mediæval doctrines which constitute Romanism were called into question, it was feared the prelates who were now willing to uphold the authority of the pope might, if assembled in council, become as independent in what related to discipline as they had hitherto been in what had respect to dogma. But Paul III. was made to understand, that the convention of a council was inevitable; that if he refused to convoke it, it might be convened by the authority of the emperor. The misfortune was, that the measure was adopted too late.

In 1517, Martin Luther was prepared to submit his opinions to the judgment of a general council; to which also the Church of England expressed its readiness to defer. In expectation of its being summoned soon, Archbishop Cranmer, as we have seen, made an appeal to it in his last sad trial. But now the Pro-

* Ranke, i. 142.

testants, the Calvinists, and even the Church of England, had expressed their doubts as to the expediency of its convention ; or, at all events, they could not submit to the judgment of a council convened by the authority, not of the emperor, but of the pope, and holding its sessions in Italy. Consequently, when Paul III. first moved in this direction, his attempts proved to be a failure.

The pope certainly, however, acted with discretion when, having determined that a council should be summoned, he yielded to the advice of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, in selecting Trent for the place of assembly, and named Cardinal Pole as one of the legates to preside at it.

The ill-fate of Pole, when engaged in public affairs, still pursued him. I need not enter upon the various political reasons which may be adduced for the fact that, though a council was convened, yet no council was held, except for the observance of certain forms and ceremonies, till after the lapse of three years. In these controversies Pole took no active part ; but there is a letter of his extant, addressed to the pope, in which he expresses his deep mortification at the delay. He speaks of the ignominy to which the friends of the papacy were exposed, when, a great council having been called, the legates and the council were dismissed, without having accomplished any one of the objects for which they had been convened. By many, he said, they had been reproached in the words of Jeremy the prophet : “ The children have come to the birth, but there was no strength to bring them forth.” *

Pole now took up his abode in the vicinity of Rome, to be prepared to act if he should again be called into active life. After various attempts to reconstitute the council, and much dispute between the emperor, the pope,

* Ep. Poli, iv. 17.

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and the princes of the empire, as to the place at which the council was to be held, the Council of Trent met at last for the despatch of business. Reginald Pole was gratified by finding that he was still to act as one of the papal legates. Associated with him were Giovanni Maria del Monte, Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina, and Marcello Cervini, Cardinal Priest of Santa Croce.

The wisdom of Paul III. was displayed in the selection he made of his legates. They were men who would receive the law from Rome, while the tendency of their minds was to suggest concessions which would please the world without, and might be accepted or not by the pope as he might think expedient. In the instructions addressed to them the pontiff commended their faith, learning, probity, skill, and experience. He declared, that he sent them as "angels of peace," and entreated them to discharge the duties of their office so as to merit the reward of eternal happiness.* There was evidently some misunderstanding at the commencement of the proceedings. This is asserted by Father Paul, and only faintly denied by Pallavicini; but what the difficulty was is not apparent. A repetition of the former failures, under circumstances very similar, appeared to be highly probable. When, on the 18th of March, 1545, the Cardinals del Monte and Santa Croce arrived at Trent, there were no prelates to receive them, except the Bishop of La Cava and the "Cardinal Bishop and Lord of Trent," as he is described by Father Paul. They were received as princes of the Church by the populace, who were allured to meet them by a promise made of three years' indulgence, bestowed upon all who were fortunate enough to see them pass. A crowd of interested spectators was assembled, but even by them

* Le Plat, iii. 260.

the question was raised—Where is the Council? Cardinal Madrucci, the Bishop of Trent, attended them to the cathedral. The choir, capable of accommodating four hundred, was set apart for the purposes of the synod, but there were no prelates to occupy the seats. The legates were perplexed how to act, for the pope, anxious to know, before proceeding further, what the conduct of the emperor would be, had not furnished them with written instructions. There might have been an attendance of Italian bishops, but they had received no orders from Rome, and there was an intuitive perception of the impolicy of doing anything which might have the appearance of packing the council.

After the lapse of a few days, Tommaso Campeggio, Bishop of Feltri, and Cornelio Musso, Bishop of Bitonto, a Franciscan and the most eloquent preacher of the age, arrived at Trent. The emperor's ambassador from Venice had made his appearance, about ten days after the entrance of the cardinals. He was the same Don Giacopo de Mendoza with whom we are already acquainted. He informed the legates, that four Spanish bishops were already on their way to Trent, and the legates communicated to Mendoza the few public documents which were in their possession. But a stop was again put to the proceedings. The bishops present offended the legates by assuming to be upon an equality with them. The legates were still more perplexed when a similar claim was made by Mendoza, acting as the representative of the emperor. The confusion was increased by the arrival of Giacomo Mignanetti, Bishop of Grosseto, in the Siennese district, who had been nuncio at the court of Ferdinand, King of the Romans. He was able to state, that the King of the Romans, co-operating with the emperor, would send a representative to the council; but he gave great offence by as-

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suming, on the part of the emperor, the merit of having caused the convocation of the council ; and by insinuating, that the enforcement of the articles of Reformation, drawn up at his command at the Diet of Spires, was only delayed, until it should be known what steps in that direction would be taken at Trent. Under these perplexities, the legates applied to the pope for secret instructions, in addition to any communications they might be permitted to make public. Even in the interesting pages of Father Paul, the reader is wearied with a narrative of conduct unaccountable,—or, at all events, not to be accounted for by any documents of which we are at present in possession. All may, however, be traced to one source, the want of a cordial understanding, or rather we would say, of *any* understanding between the emperor and the pope. Both were as generals deploying their troops, ready to do battle, but anxious if possible to come to terms.

Pole meantime had remained at Viterbo. He was permitted to linger. He was a man of learning, and he might be of service when the council entered upon doctrinal discussions ; but his incapacity as a politician had been sufficiently proved. He was an honest man, and would neither have countenanced nor have understood the various intrigues, in which the legates were required to bear a part. He was supposed to sympathize with the Protestants, whom the emperor was desirous of conciliating ; and in any questions which might arise between the emperor and the pope, it was doubtful how far Pole would be the blind partisan of Paul III. It was expedient to nominate him, as the English cardinal, to be one of the three legates at the council ; but it was also good policy to prevent his going to Trent, until all the preliminary proceedings had been settled. The delay of his journey was to him agreeable, for he lived in a constant dread of assassination. It

was only necessary for those who wished him to defer his journey, to warn him that the roads were unsafe. He would render, it was said, most service to the cause in his study, until the council was in full session ; and accordingly he employed himself in writing his treatise "De Concilio."

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The reader who would form a fair estimate of Pole's intellectual ability, and who has been justly offended by the temper displayed in his "De Unitate," should cast his eye over the pages of the little work before us. He may feel surprised, that it should be thought worthy by Labbe to be inserted among the decrees and canons of the Council of Trent ; but he will admit it to be a work of considerable merit, displaying, though not any genius, considerable acuteness and ability. It is, of course, one-sided, and is chiefly interesting from the light it throws upon Pole's principles. Having pointed out the object of a general council, he reminds his readers that the Church is not a democracy, and that all that is required of the people is, that they submit to the ordinances of their rulers and obey them. Obedience to his spiritual superiors was, at all times, Pole's principle of action. At the same time, he affirms, that the Church is not an aristocracy, the constitution of the Church being monarchical ; the Lord Jesus Christ is the King, and the Bishop of Rome His vicar. A general council is compared to the council of a sovereign prince, in which difficult questions are freely discussed, and the decisions of which, when endorsed by the sovereign, become law.

He addresses the pope, the emperor, and the other princes, and says, with becoming freedom in reference to the pope, that he ought to distinguish between the public officer and the man in his private capacity by whom the office is held. He would not go so far as the councils of the last century, when the council assumed to be superior

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to the pope ; but he asserted, that the pope, in his public capacity, could pronounce sentence against himself if he found that he had at any time erred. His doing this would give weight to any sentence he might pronounce upon others, and lay the foundation of peace and concord. Pole concluded by reminding the legates of the promises of Christ, and by exhorting them to much diligence in prayer.

If considerable rhetorical skill and logical acuteness are displayed in this treatise, there was not much research or industry ; there is a wonderful assumption, on the part of the cardinal, of an ignorance of the facts of history on the part of his readers. He affirms, that St. Peter presided at the Scriptural council of Jerusalem, and that he opened the proceedings ; whereas it is expressly said, that “ when there had been much disputing, Peter rose up, and said.”* He assumes, that Peter pronounced the judgment, whereas we all know that sentence was given by St. James, the Bishop of Jerusalem. He asserts, with an obvious purpose, that the council consisted of Peter, the apostles, and elders ; whereas in Scripture there is no distinction made in favour of Peter ; but the reference is to the apostles, elders, and brethren, among whom St. Peter was one, but not the chief. Such mistakes appear to be trivial, but, however trivial, they were made with a purpose ; they imply a fact that is false, and insinuate an argument which is not in accordance with the truth.

When, after a month's delay, Pole started for Trent, he did not proceed by the direct road, and was accompanied as far as Mantua by an escort of twenty-five horse.

On the 13th of December, 1545, the three legates appeared at the Church of the Holy Trinity, whence a proces-

* Acts, xv. 7.

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sion was formed to the cathedral. When we remember that this meeting professed to represent the entire Catholic Church, it must be regarded as a failure; but the *coup d'œil* to those who were assembled on that bright winter's morning in Trent was sufficiently striking. The reader has time to think of those who ought to have been present but were not; but the assembled multitude were, at the time, impressed with awe, when they saw issuing from the church, all arrayed in full pontificals,* the three legates, followed by twenty bishops, five archbishops, five generals of religious orders, the ambassadors of the King of the Romans, with a long array of doctors in divinity, of lawyers, with a crowd of their retainers. The side aisles of the cathedral were crowded with an excited multitude as the procession passed up the nave, preceded by the choir chanting the *Veni Creator Spiritus*. The choir itself, arranged to accommodate four hundred fathers, looked rather desolate; but the vacant spaces were gradually occupied by devout persons anxious to assist in the affairs of religion. There was "silence a space," for private prayer, which was broken by the voice of the president reciting the *Adsumus Domine Sancte Spiritus*. A litany was chanted. The Cardinal del Monte approached the altar and celebrated high mass. The gospel was peculiarly appropriate, if the reading of it had been more than a form: Matt. xviii. 15—"If thy brother shall trespass against thee." Standing at the high altar, the legate bestowed, in the name of the pope, a plenary indulgence on all present, exhorting them to make earnest and constant prayer to Almighty God for the peace of the Church, and the suppression of heresy and dissension.

* I follow Pallavicini. Le Plat says there were five archbishops and twenty-two bishops. Father Paul contents himself with speaking generally of twenty-four bishops.

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This was offensive to the Lutherans, and was intended to warn them against expecting satisfaction from the council. The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Bitonto. The praises lavished on the opening address of the legate, which was considered modest and Christian in its tone, were withheld from the sermon of this eminent preacher, who did not rise to the occasion. The report of it is interesting, as it shows what kind of preaching was popular at the time, and how the bombastic expressions of the popular orator were repudiated, as savouring of bad taste, in the better educated classes of society. The Trojan horse, of which so much use has been made in a modern house of assembly, was not forgotten by the Bishop of Bitonto, for to the Trojan horse he compared the council; and he said that the bishops ought to regard themselves as shut up in it. He likened the opening of the council to the opening of the gates of Paradise, and predicted, that it would cause living water to flow till the earth was filled with the knowledge of God. He exhorted the fathers to open the bowl of their breasts to receive that knowledge; but if they neglected so to do, he predicted, in language not the most complimentary, that their mouths would, nevertheless, be opened by the Spirit of the Lord, and they would be compelled to speak like Balaam's ass; or, as in the case of Caiaphas, to utter a prophecy, in their ignorance, which would be condemnatory of themselves. If the council forgot its duty, the Church, as might thus be seen, would not err. He shocked the piety of the age, not very sensitive, by apostrophising the mountains and forests of Trent, charging them to make the voice resound from the earth, that men might know the day of their visitation, and that it might not be said that, the light of the pope being come into the world, men loved darkness rather than light: *Papæ lux venit in mundum, sed dilexe-*

runt homines magis tenebras quam lucem. The application of these words is offensive to those who know their Bible ; but more offensive still to our ears was his conclusion, when, in addressing our Blessed Lord Himself, he begged Him to be present at the council, through the intercession of St. Vigilius, to whom the cathedral was dedicated,—the tutelary saint of the valley of Trent.

The religious services having terminated, the fathers of the council took their seats.

The president, amidst a solemn silence, rose and, addressing them in Latin, said : “ Doth it please you, unto the praise and glory of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, for the increase and exaltation of the Christian Faith and religion, for the extirpation of heresies, for the peace and union of the Church, for the reformation of the Christian clergy and people, for the depression and extinction of the enemies of the Christian name, to decree and declare that the sacred and general Council of Trent do begin and hath begun ? ” They answered “ *placet.* ”

“ And whereas the celebration of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ is near at hand, and other festivals of the concluding and commencing year follow thereupon, doth it please you that the first ensuing session be held on the Thursday after the Epiphany, which will be the seventh of the month of January, in the year of the Lord 1546 ? ” They answered “ *placet.* ” *

The *Te Deum* was sung and the benediction given. The fathers, having laid aside the pontifical vestments in the robing room, attended the legates to their lodgings in their ordinary attire, the legatine cross being borne before them. We are told that a great sensation was created, and that the fathers, when they separated,

* Decrees of the Council of Trent, p. 12.

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“greatly rejoiced, embracing one another and glorifying God.” *

We can easily imagine their mutual felicitations; but we know that the legates, looking beyond Trent, were painfully convinced that, through the paucity of prelates attending it, the opening of the council was, in point of fact, a failure, and that it might have been less a failure if the pope had exerted himself to procure a decent if not a full attendance. They were aware that the present failure of the council, through the paucity of its attendants, was remarked in high places, and they feared that either through irresolution, or because he was not sincere in his desire to hold a council, the pope might dissolve the present assembly as he had done the last. Everywhere men were turning the council into ridicule, and speaking of it as mismanaged. It was the fashion to do so among the courtiers of Charles and Francis, and inferior persons took their tone from the court. It was called at an unseasonable time; it was contrary to the spirit of the age; in short, recourse was had to all the common-places with which we are familiar when faction looks out for arguments to support a foregone conclusion. We learn this from Pole's private correspondence with Paul III., with whom he had been living on terms of intimacy.† The legates were aware that the pope did not himself anticipate the same happy results from the council as did the more sanguine legates; and they dreaded lest, as on a former occasion, by an abrupt dissolution, they would become a laughing-stock to the world; and that thus the last chance of effecting religious peace and union would

* Le Plat, viii. pars. 2, 48. The same rites were observed at each session of the council.

† There is a series of eight letters addressed to Paul III. at this time in the Correspondence of Pole.

be thrown away. Fearing the irresolution of Paul, they urged his friend Pole to entreat the pope to support the council in spite of all opposition, and not to give credit to any reports that might be circulated to the disadvantage of Pole himself or of his colleagues.

We have had occasion before to allude to the ground, or one of the grounds, upon which the popes in the sixteenth century entertained a reluctance to summon a council. The object in the great councils of the preceding century had been to place the pope under subjection to a council, and the feeling, though not now predominant, still found an occasional expression. Pole and his colleagues were sufficiently firm on this point. In point of doctrine, when many subjects,—afterwards settled for Romanism, at Trent,—were still open questions, they were inclined to concur with the Protestant movement; but as regarded papal dominion they were ultramontane. This was the one thing that kept Pole in the communion of Rome; on doctrinal subjects he was more of a Protestant than Henry VIII. or any of the reformers in England; but the Bishop of Rome was the bishop of bishops—under Christ, the king of kings. There were other rulers, but he was the suzerain. On this point Pole was a fanatic.

That the fears thus entertained were not chimerical was soon proved by the conduct of the French bishops at Trent, or by communication, on their part, with the legates. They suspected an intention, on the part of the Bishop of Rome, to usurp the powers which were denied him at Pisa, at Constance, and Basle. They evinced the spirit of independence destined afterwards to distinguish the Gallican Church, and they were supported by some Italian, and even by some Spanish bishops. Paul III. had determined that in the decrees, the council should be styled “The Holy Œcumenical, or General, Council of

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Trent, the legates of the apostolic see presiding." The Gallicans insisted that the words "representing the Universal Church" should, as in former councils, be added. The legates received instructions from Rome to resist the proposal, because the pope and his Roman advisers were well aware what would follow. The proposal was only made as introductory to the form adopted and used at Basle and Constance; viz.:—"which claims its powers immediately from Jesus Christ, and to which every person of whatever dignity, not excepting the pope, is bound to yield obedience."

There were other precedents opposed to papal pretensions set by the ancient councils which required to be watched; and that the legates might not be led, through inadvertence, to the admission of what might lead to inconvenient results, their powers were reduced within the narrowest limits. The pope formed a committee of cardinals who, remaining at Rome, were to act as his advisers, and from them all directions were to emanate. By this committee the legates were overruled; and perhaps they were not unwilling to shift the responsibility upon other shoulders, when, in mere matters of detail, their time was consumed and their minds made vigilant.

The legates, looking at the affairs of the council from the theological standing-point, were desirous of commencing with the reformation of the acknowledged abuses which were a disgrace to the Church, and, in fact, rendered a council necessary. In this view of the case, they were supported by the Imperialists. On the contrary, the cardinals at Rome regarded the whole subject from the Italian point of view; and, in their desire to delay until they could see how things were likely to turn out politically, they issued peremptory orders in the

pope's name to begin with the discussion of disputed doctrines.

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His age never prevented Paul from doing what he deemed expedient for the furtherance of his worldly objects ; but his infirmities were now adduced as an apology for his not appearing personally at Trent. But although absent in body, he desired to let the world perceive that he could be present in spirit ; and to all the letters and public documents his own name as well as that of his legates was attached. He wished it to be understood, that he was not only the author of the council, but also its head and ruler. The secretaries and other officers were appointed by the pope, and they were aware that no secrets should exist between them and their patron.

Preliminary matters were settled in congregations or committees appointed to sit between the several sessions of the council, so that when the council was in actual or formal session disputes might be avoided. Business was discussed in these separate congregations, presided over each by a legate ; by whom reports were made to a general congregation, at which votes were taken. The decrees of doctrine were promulgated at the session of the council, and consisted of *Doctrinæ* and *Canones*, the first assuming the character of dogmatic treatises, the latter, of shorter propositions.

On the 7th of January, 1546, the second session was held. There were present only forty-three persons qualified to vote. Among the four archbishops who were present, two were merely titular, never having seen the churches over which they were supposed to preside. One, however, of these was Olaus Magnus, the celebrated antiquary, Titular of Upsal, who had been driven out of Sweden by the reformers ; the other was Robert Wauchope, Archbishop of Armagh. The bishop designate

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of Worcester was also present.* These prelates were sent by the pope, and supported at his expense. At the opening of each session the ceremonies were repeated which have been formerly described. When the business of the second session commenced, a decree was read "touching the manner of living, and other matters to be observed during the council." The document is attributed to the pen of Cardinal Pole. It is of historical value, for, by showing what was forbidden, it reveals what were the moral evils to which persons holding high place in the Church were exposed. All and each of the faithful in Christ assembled at Trent were exhorted to amend themselves of their evils and sins heretofore committed. Having given general directions, the decree proceeds further to exhort—

"That they fast at least on every Friday, in memory of the passion of the Lord, and bestow alms on the poor. Furthermore, on every Thursday there shall be celebrated in the cathedral church the mass of the Holy Ghost, with the litanies and other prayers appointed to this end; and on the same day there shall be said, in the other churches, at least the litanies and prayers. And during the time the sacred services are being performed, let there be no talkings or conversations together, but with mouth and mind association with the celebrant. And inasmuch as *it behoveth bishops to be blameless, sober, chaste, ruling well their own household*, (the council) exhorts also that above all things each observe sobriety at table and moderation in diet. Further, that since idle conversations are often wont to arise there, the reading of the Divine Scriptures be introduced, even at the tables of bishops; and let each teach and instruct his servants not to be quarrelsome, given to wine, immodest, covetous, haughty, blasphemous, and lovers of pleasures;

* He was designated by the pope, but not consecrated till the reign of Mary.

in fine, let them shun vice and embrace virtue, and in dress, appearance, and in all their actions show forth modesty as becomes the servants of the servants of God.

“Moreover, whereas it is the chief care, solicitude, and intention of this sacred and holy council, that the darkness of heresies, which during so many years has covered the earth, being dispelled, the light, brightness, and purity of Catholic truth may, by the aid of Jesus Christ, who is the true light, shine forth, and that those things which need reformation may be reformed, the same synod exhorts all Catholics here assembled, and to be assembled, and especially those who are skilled in the sacred letters, that by sedulous meditation they diligently reflect within themselves by what ways and means the intention of the synod may be best directed and obtain the desired effect; that in the most prompt and prudent manner things to be condemned may be condemned, and things to be approved, approved; that so throughout the whole world all may, with one mouth and with the same confession of faith, glorify God, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“But in delivering their sentiments, when the priests of the Lord are sitting together in the place of benediction, no one, according to the statute of the Council of Toledo, ought either to be boisterous by immoderate outcries, or cause disturbance by uproar, none to be contentious with false, vain, or obstinate disputations; but let whatsoever is said be so tempered by the mildest utterance of the words spoken, that neither the hearers be offended, nor the clear perception of a correct judgment warped by the mind being troubled.

“Furthermore, this sacred synod has ordained and decreed, that if it should chance to happen that any do not sit in their due place, and (thus) deliver their sentiments, even under the word *Placet*, are present at the congregations, and take part in any act soever while the council lasts, none shall thereby be prejudiced, none acquire a new right.” *

The tone and principle of the council are indicated by

* Decrees of the Council of Trent, p. 14.

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the curious omission, in the quotation from 1 Tim. iii. 2, of the injunction that a bishop is to be "the husband of one wife."

At this session the question relating to the style of the council, and whether it professed to be more than an assembly convened by the pope, was again raised by the Gallican party; and the papal party, being aware, that the question implied what was asserted at Constance and the other councils of the preceding century,—that a general council was superior to the pope, and that to it the Bishop of Rome, in common with every other bishop, must yield obedience,—succeeded in effecting a compromise by permitting the words "œcumenical and universal" to be inserted, without explaining what was meant. They thus neither ignored the principles of preceding councils, nor submitted to them. The Gallicans, during the session, demanded that the name of the King of France should be coupled with that of the emperor; to which it was objected, that if this were conceded, a similar proposition from all sovereign princes might be urged, and much inconvenience would hence be incurred by granting the request. The Cæsar had hitherto been regarded as standing *per se*, in undefined superiority among the princes of Europe; but mediæval notions were passing away. Though the superiority of Agamemnon had become nearly nominal, yet Europe was not prepared to receive Francis I. as an Achilles; and we need hardly say the proposition was negatived. The question was still undetermined, though not in the mind of the pontiff yet in the discussions of the council, whether they were to commence with doctrine or with discipline. A deep impression was made upon all assembled by a powerful address of the Cardinal and Prince Bishop of Trent. He said that the surest way to reclaim men from he-

retical pravity was to be found in a reformation of the ecclesiastics.

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The Cardinal del Monte perceived at once, that a decided measure must be adopted to prevent the adherents of the pope from being in a minority. The low murmur of whispered applause following the address of Madrucci was hushed into the profoundest silence, when the Cardinal del Monte rose to address the fathers. He gave thanks to the Great God by whom the Cardinal of Trent had been inspired with so excellent a disposition. He had the honour of occupying the post of most dignity in the council, and by him, therefore, the example should be set. He tendered his resignation of the see of Pavia; his splendid furniture should be sold, the number of his domestics diminished. He added that, willing as he was, by self-sacrifice, to set an example which he hoped would be followed, he could not understand why, on this account, the definition of the true faith should be deferred. He admitted the importance of a reformation of manners—a reformation to extend to the court of Rome itself, where corruptions prevailed among all sorts of men; but there was no reason, on that account, why the faithful should be left in uncertainty respecting the doctrine of Christ. The reformation would occupy a considerable time. Pole, with two other cardinals, rose to make a similar offer. All eyes were turned to the Cardinal of Trent: “He went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions.”

The legates had triumphed, but they wisely abstained from all appearance of triumph by acceding to a proposal of the Bishop of Feltri, that some subject of doctrine and discipline should be decided in each session. As the order of proceedings at each session was arranged by

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the legates who received their orders from Rome, this was, on their part, only an apparent concession. The pope, however, was at first enraged with the legates, for even appearing to concede a point which seemed to contravene his injunctions.

Whether it was attributable to this circumstance, or to the political manœuvres in which the pope was at this time engaged, is not known; but the fact was, that the time for holding the third session was approaching, and the legates were alarmed, lest they should again become the laughing-stock of Europe on account of their failure. Severe remarks were made upon the absurdity of holding a session to repeat a creed twelve hundred years old, which was universally received, by Lutherans as well as by Catholics. The Lutherans observed that, if all that is necessary to salvation is contained in the Nicene Creed, then the object in calling the council, so far as they were concerned, was already answered; these articles they had already subscribed, and if these were sufficient, they could not be expected to accept new articles. The Protestants were becoming so averse from the council, that few hopes were now entertained of conciliating them.

Meantime, a change was taking place in the councils at Rome. Negotiations had commenced between the pope and the emperor, and it was at length determined that talkative inactivity should no longer be the order of the day at Trent. At the fourth session, at which the rule of faith was settled, it may be said that the work of the council commenced. And from this time its "Doctrinæ" and "Canones" became an important commentary on the fundamental principles of modern Romanism. Many congregations were held, in which there was considerable diversity of opinion, without any master mind to take the lead or to control.

At a congregation held on the 8th of February, 1546, Del Monte propounded the canon of Holy Scripture as the subject of the ensuing session, and the following questions were placed before the next congregation :—

I. Were all the books of both Testaments to be approved and received ?

II. Was this approval to be given after a fresh examination of the evidence proving them to be satisfactory ?

III. Would it be expedient to divide the Holy Scriptures into two classes—one containing the books to be read for instruction in morals, as the Proverbs and the Book of Wisdom, not yet received as canonical ; the other such as were to be used for framing doctrines of belief ?

On the second question the legates were divided in opinion. Del Monte was opposed to any fresh examination, but Cardinal Pole, supported by the legate Santa Croce (Marcello Cervini) and the Cardinal Bishop of Trent, expressed his earnest desire that the examination should be undertaken. He pointed out the importance of such a measure in its bearing in controversies with the Lutherans—but it is probable that he desired the examination for his own conviction, for a concession was made that an examination in private should take place, though the results of the examination were not to transpire in any of the public acts of the council.

I do not find that Pole took an active part in the other discussions, though over one of the congregations he continued to preside as legate.

On the 8th of April, 1546, the fourth session of the council was held. There was an increased attendance of between sixty and seventy persons*—few enough when they claimed to be the voice of the Church Universal.

* I believe the exact number was fifty-six, but I give the largest estimate in the text.

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The council, although unintentionally, was actually on the side of the truth when it still, through the majority, declared that the council should not be described as "representing the Universal Church," claiming its powers immediately from Jesus Christ; and to which "every person, of whatever dignity, not excepting the pope, was bound to yield obedience." The insertion of the "representatory clause," as it was called, was strongly urged by the Bishops of Capaccio, Fiesole, Badajoz, and Osca.

Notwithstanding the long discussions in the several congregations, there was by no means an unanimity displayed at the session. Two decrees were read:—The first, upon the canon of Scripture; which declares that the holy council receives all the books of the Old and New Testament, as well as all the traditions of the Church respecting faith and morals, as having proceeded from the lips of Jesus Christ Himself, or as having been dictated by the Holy Spirit, and preserved in the Catholic Church by a continual succession: both the written and unwritten Word are to be regarded with equal respect. After this, the decree enumerates the books received as canonical by the Church of Rome, as they are found in the Vulgate, and all persons are anathematized who refuse to acknowledge them as such. The second decree declares the authenticity of the Vulgate, forbids to interpret it contrary to the teaching of holy Church and the fathers, orders that extreme care be taken in printing it, forbids all profane uses of Scriptural words and expressions, and directs, that all who make such evil use of them, or employ them for superstitious purposes, shall be punished as "profaners of the Word of God."

This was a triumph of that Ultramontane party to which Pole never belonged; and he foresaw the con-

sequences. They were preparing now to give judgment upon the deeper mysteries on which the mind of Pole, and those who are known as the Italian reformers, had been hitherto employed; and in relation to which the Ultramontane party were supposed to be verging towards Pelagianism.

In the midst of the discussions, a controversy arose in which Pole endeavoured to moderate. The bishops complained of the proceedings of the regulars, who were accustomed to set all diocesan and parochial authority at defiance. They were especially indignant at the conduct of the mendicants. The debates were disgraced by violence and disorder, and the successful party, as against the monks, was led by the Bishop of Fiesole. He besought the fathers, by all that was sacred, to assist in maintaining the episcopal authority. He was opposed by the Ultramontanes, who knew how much the papal power was sustained in all lands by the monks; and the intrusion of the regulars was accounted for, by the past neglect of duty on the part of the secular clergy. Del Monte lost his temper in opposing the bishop, and sent a sermon on the subject, preached by the bishop, to Rome, where it was duly censured. Pole, who always asserted the papal power, entreated the Bishop of Fiesole to moderate his expressions, and received for reply the remark, that a man cannot hold his tongue when he is robbed. Nevertheless the poor bishop was silenced; and Pole lamented that a division among those who had been convened to reconcile differences was affording a triumph to their common enemy. The bishops were compelled to submit. The regulars indeed were not to preach in parish churches without the episcopal licence; and, though in appropriated churches, the licence of their priors sufficed, the licence was to be presented to the bishop whose bene-

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diction, on its exhibition, the persons presented were to receive. But now, for the first time, was heard an Ultramontane doctrine regarded by the orthodox of the Greek Church—that is, by the major part of Christendom—as absolutely heretical; viz., that the bishops of the Christian Church were to act as the “delegates of the Holy See.” To this, however, Pole was not likely to urge an objection; but it was very different when, in the congregations, the subjects of original sin and justification were mooted.

The fifth session of the council was held on the 17th of June, 1546. There was a renewed outcry against the omission of the “representatory” clause; and then, avoiding any full and scientific exposition, such as would provoke discussion on the part of Pole and his friends, a decree was drawn up treating of the personal sin of Adam, and the transmission of that sin to his posterity; of its remedy, *i.e.* Holy Baptism; of Infant Baptism; and, as directly militating against the Lutherans, the doctrine was condemned which asserts “that the taint of sin remains, yea, even in them that are regenerate.”

The latter laid the foundation of the Trentine view of justification.

The Protestants asserted, that although righteousness was imputed to the believer, who was thus rendered capable of communion with the holy ones of God; yet the holiest of men remained to the last an actual sinner, dependent wholly for salvation on the merits of the Saviour. Therefore works of supererogation were impossible.

Luther perceived that this dogma was the lever by which he could upset the whole papal fabric. Gradually this truth dawned on the mind of Paul III. and his advisers at Rome. The legates accordingly received orders

to frame a system of doctrine which would stand opposed to this doctrine of justification by faith only.

Pole and the Italian reformers had accepted the truth as Scriptural, seeing at once its subjective value in keeping down the pride of the human heart. They did not see, or care to see, its controversial importance on the Protestant side. They spoke, not as controversialists, but in Christian simplicity. They approached God, they said, in the name of Christ, and were justified, accounted righteous, by faith in Him. As the priest appears at the altar robed in surplice, or alb and stole, so the Christian stands before the Throne of Grace, having put on Christ. As the priest has a dress of his own beneath his official robes, so the Christian has his own inherent righteousness. This is given by inspiration of God the Holy Ghost, and consists in a sincere wish to keep God's commandments. In this sincere, not perfect, endeavour he perseveres, seeking only to stand before God through his justification in Christ. He cannot keep all the commandments, whatever his endeavours may be; therefore, to the last, as an unprofitable servant having no merits of his own, he seeks justification through Christ our Lord.

No one who has examined the subject can entertain a doubt of Pole's sentiments; and what his sentiments were is forced on our attention also through the avowed and plainer declarations of his associates, with whom—as with Contarini, for example—he frequently expressed his cordial sympathy.* What was he now to do? Some of his

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* At Ratisbon, Contarini admitted what Ranke calls "the cardinal point," the Lutheran doctrine that man's justification is through faith, and not through merit. He added, that this faith must be lively and active, and Melancthon declared that this was, in fact, the Protestant faith itself. Contarini's friends who sympathized in his opinions heard with joy what progress Contarini had apparently made towards a pacification. "When I observed this unanimity of opinion," writes Pole to

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former associates—Vergerio among them, and Peter Martyr—became Protestants; others, like Pole, were reduced to silence. He was devoted to the papacy, and on that point he was immovable. While justification was an open question, he asserted that view of it which almost or entirely accorded with Protestantism. When the pope, and afterwards the council, asserted the opposite doctrine, he concluded that, though unconvinced by arguments hitherto adduced, he must be in error. He could not defend the converse propositions; but, at least, he could be silent on the subject. Occasionally, in private, he would advert to the doctrine he at one time so cordially maintained; and at a time when enemies were watching him, he got into trouble—but we shall best describe his position by saying he now retired into private life.

Orders came from Rome, that the sixth session of the Council of Trent was to be occupied by the great subject of justification. Discussions might be permitted in the congregations, but the legates were only to enforce in the council the conclusions at which the papal advisers at Rome had already arrived. Pole might act as an automaton in the hands of the pope if he chose, but could he command his tongue when discussion was provoking it to motion? He was perplexed as to the course to be pursued. All of a sudden the physicians discovered, that Trent was insalubrious, and that it was impossible for Pole, in his infirm state of health, to remain there any longer.

“Provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
Optandas.” *

him, “I felt a delight such as no harmony of sounds could have afforded me, not only because I foresaw the approach of peace and concord, but because ‘*these articles are the foundation of the whole Christian faith.*’” See Ranke, i. 109. See also Father Paul, 74.

* Phillips denies that Pole held the dogma of justification by faith

It is evident that his colleagues were glad of an excuse for persuading Pole to absent himself; and of the opportunity he was equally willing to avail himself. He did not act as a great man, but if we would judge him impartially he appears before us a humble man. He had always taken his position as opposed to the Lutherans, and they could not expect him to suffer with them because that on the abstract merits of a disputed dogma they happened to concur. Although, when considering the dogma abstractedly and with a view to promote religion, he arrived at a conclusion held by many determined papists before the Council of Trent, he was certainly justified in refusing to cause confusion or trouble in the counsels of his friends, when they suggested that his principle of justification, if logically carried out, would lead to the rejection of dogmas which he regarded as being practically of greater importance. He had thoroughly

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only, but he is answered by every fact of Pole's history, and by every friend whom Pole loved. Much more honest is Caracciolo in his life of Paul IV., though there is a little malice in his mode of making his statement:—"Cardinal Pole, either through the influence of Marc. Antonio Flaminio, or because, very erudite in profane literature, he was little skilled in scholastic theology, was on this point so wedded to the dogma of justification by faith only and grace of imputation, that he not only for a long time held this false Lutheran opinion, but also went about making disciples and numerous converts among persons of importance, and filled his house with servants and courtiers holding the same opinion. I give him credit for having erred theoretically, because the subject is so subtle and difficult; nevertheless he caused great astonishment and scandal, being one of the cardinal presidents of the Council of Trent, because, when he perceived that the doctrine of justification was decided upon in the council, and was about to be promulgated in session, he, holding the opinions he did, feigned, as it was thought, to be suffering in his room from cold, and left the council for the baths of Padua. His departure at such a time, for a reason so trifling, excited suspicions against him."—Adriani, *Ist. dei suoi Tempi*: Thuan, Caracciolo, *Vita di Paolo IV. cap. xx.*

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committed himself to the papal faction: in nine out of ten propositions he felt that his opinions would be in accordance with theirs. We who live in a country governed by party, must surely make every allowance for a man, who retired with the intention of reconsidering one important subject, while the excuse brought forward prevented it from being supposed—and nothing was further from his intention—that he had deserted his party.

If Pole had not been in the habit of exaggerating, so as to place himself always in the right, we should believe that his disease was of a serious nature. He was certainly unwell, and complained that the air of Trent was too keen for his constitution. Cardinal Santa Croce alludes to the insalubrity of the climate; and there is a slight touch of sarcasm in his letter to Farnese on the 25th of June, 1546:—"Cardinal Pole, I find, intends to start directly for Trevella, having obtained the permission of the pope; but we, although we have no less occasion than himself for a little respite from business and change of air, are resolved nevertheless to attend the debates on justification." *

Trevella, to which place Pole retired, was the country house of his friend Luigi Priuli, in the neighbourhood of Padua. The air of Padua always agreed with Pole, and here he had a choice of physicians. He was attended by his secretary Beccatelli, and in Beccatelli and Priuli he was sure of finding sentiments congenial with his own. To a mind so vacillating and sensitive as Pole's, this retirement must have been almost as necessary as to his bodily health it was important in other respects. Pole was a man of determined will when once he had decided upon the step he ought to take, but, like many such

* Quirini, iv. 277.

persons, he was miserable in the various doubts he entertained before his determination was made; and even after he had committed himself, he required a stronger mind than his own to convince him, that what he had done was what his conscience ought to endorse.

In taking this view of the case, I am doing more justice to the memory of Pole than do they who, through a course of special pleading, would make it appear that he held the Roman doctrine upon the subject before Rome had spoken. Pole had many faults, but he had also many virtues. He was neither a hero nor a saint; and in trying to place him before their readers in that point of view, many of his admirers have induced unfriendly critics to deny him the attributes of even a well-meaning man.*

Soon after his arrival at Trevella, he reported the state of his health to his colleagues at Trent.

“All the information I can give you of my health since my departure from Trent is, that it seems better rather than worse; not that my pains have ceased, but they are less acute, and I have passed three nights without being obliged to quit my bed. Exercise, which I take either on horseback or in a carriage, is of greater service to me than anything else. Two physicians from Padua called upon me yesterday and had a consultation. They warned me to take care of myself, as I was in danger of a paralytic seizure. They left their opinion in writing, which I am to forward to Fracastori,† that they may obtain his opinion of my case. As

* It is astonishing how prone people are to rush from one extreme to the other. Pole's conduct in Queen Mary's reign brought disgrace upon his name, and he was unduly maligned. Of late years, persons previously ignorant of general history have found that he was, at one time, an object of admiration and respect among the reformers in Italy, and they cannot find words too high to extol him.

† Geronimo Fracastori was born in 1483, and died in 1553. He was appointed physician to the Council of Trent, and by his advice the council was moved from Trent to Bologna. He was not only one of

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soon as I receive it I shall know what course to pursue, and will not fail to send a full account to your lordships." *

A few weeks after, he sent a worse account of his health, and stated the fears of his physicians, that if he returned to Trent he should run the risk of being lame for life, which, as he justly observed, "could answer no purpose." He felt sure that the pope would not wish to be served on such terms; nevertheless, he was about to despatch a friend to Rome to receive the commands of his holiness.

Cardinal Pole soon after received a draft of the decree on justification, and his opinion of it was asked. He kept it four days, and then returned it, as it would appear from his letter, without note or comment, and with only a qualified approbation. In a letter dated the 5th of October, he says :—

"I have received a copy of the decree concerning justification, on which your lordships are pleased to ask my opinion. To speak the truth, I do not see that I can say anything on the subject. *It contains many things on which I should desire an explanation*, which, being absent, I cannot have. Besides, I am too much out of order to think, much less to write, on a subject of such importance." †

It would appear from one of his letters, that Pole was at this time accused of Lutheranism; and in vindicating himself, he expressly denies that fact, on the ground that he had

the most eminent physicians of the day, but was also a poet; his inclination was to scientific rather than to metaphysical studies.

* Ep. Poli, iv. 189.

† A copy of the decree, transcribed in his own hand, was found among Pole's papers. Some persons have inferred from that circumstance that he was actually the author of the decree. The circumstances given in the text are a sufficient refutation of this most improbable opinion.

deduced his doctrine of justification by faith only from the Scriptures alone. He accused the Lutherans of so stating the doctrine, as to render it impossible to reconcile, as he himself had done, St. Paul and St. James. But this attempt to draw a distinction where no difference existed, was not successful, for at the colloquy of Ratisbon Melancthon stated, and Contarini accepted the statement, that, in the qualification of the doctrine adduced from St. James, the Lutherans agreed with the Italian reformers.* It was an argument *ad captandum*, and was to a certain extent fair. Through the study of the Bible, on this great Protestant dogma Pole had come to the same conclusion as Luther—nevertheless this did not prove that he was a Lutheran; and he may have thought any argument sufficient to silence those who, in bringing such a charge against him, were influenced by faction rather than by faith.

Pole's conduct was consistent with his principles, and this consistency on his part secured for him the respect of those who in opinion may have differed from him. Before the decree on justification was passed, when he was presiding at the congregation accustomed to assemble at his residence, he ordered the prelates to read the works of their adversaries, and not to suppose that, by stigmatizing a doctrine as Lutheran, the doctrine must by that fact be condemned. They might peradventure find themselves, if they so acted, in the predicament of Pelagius, and in their answer to Luther become Pelagians.† But when the council dogmatized, the Church spoke, and Pole was then silent: the Church was wiser than he.

His friends were numerous, and they might fairly ask what more is required. Paul III. remained his personal

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* Bucer, *Disputata Ratisbonæ*, 302.

† Pallavic. viii. 709.

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friend. He summoned Pole to Rome; and before the latter started on his journey, he sent Priuli to the fathers of Trent, to assure them, that if he could further their interests at head-quarters, he was prepared to serve them.

The gentle and indolent spirit of Pole had an attraction to the violent and haughty temper of Paul III.; and Pole was saved from trouble, and perhaps disgrace, by the pope's retaining him at Rome, under the pretext that he required his services as a counsellor. It was not known whether Pole's scruples might not extend to other subjects besides those which related to justification; and when the council was removed from Trent to Bologna, the excuse of Pole, that he was in waiting on the pope, was gladly accepted as a reason for his not resuming his duties as a legate. He could no longer urge the plea of ill-health. Paul employed him as a confidential secretary; and Beccatelli would leave us under the impression that, in the violent disputes which now arose between the pope and the emperor, Pole was the author of the papal despatches. The slightest acquaintance with the character of Paul III. would cause us to hesitate before acceding to the notion, that he would delegate to another an office which demanded the exercise of abilities not inferior to his own; and least of all was he likely to select as his adviser a man who had shown himself thoroughly incompetent as a statesman.

That Reginald Pole was employed in moulding the drafts of these despatches, which, in the fever of passion, Paul had penned or dictated, is highly probable; and equally probable it is—it is indeed apparent—that he spoke sometimes in his own name, when it was convenient or politic for the pontiff to remain in the background. But it is sufficiently clear that Pole remained at Rome through

the considerate policy of the pope, who, knowing him to be worse than useless at Trent and Bologna, provided an honourable excuse for his absence. On the publication of the Interim, Pole presided at the committee from which emanated the remonstrance to the emperor.

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The death of Henry VIII. once more excited the mind, the expectations, perhaps the ambition, of Pole. He felt that now was the time for him once more to thrust himself on the notice of princes; but, as usual, he only displayed an entire ignorance of the state of feeling in England, upon the proceedings in which kingdom he presumed to dogmatize. He lost no time in communicating with the pope and the emperor; and he affirmed, that the emperor's influence in England was such, that all that was now requisite to reduce England to obedience to Rome was a good understanding between these two potentates. But they were not a third time to be deceived; and the emperor, through his ambassador, knew more of the state of public feeling in England than was known to Pole. He knew that Protestantism had at this time become a fanaticism in England; and that, although there was a strong and influential body which desired only to reform the Church on the ideal of Henry VIII., they were one and all, Protestants and Anglo-Catholics, united in a firm resolve, come what might, to keep out the pope.

Pole had the presumption, or the folly, to address a letter to the Privy Council of England. It is so far interesting as an historical document, that it shows that there was no fixed law by which the right of succession might be known, and that it was fully admitted that the succession to the crown depended upon the will of parliament. He alluded to the wrongs sustained by himself and his friends in the late reign, only to say that the

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past was forgiven and would be forgotten. He then dwelt on the pontiff's paternal regard for England, of which he was ready to give proof by sending Pole himself, not only to aid the benighted country by his counsels, but also, if the offer of the pope was met in the same spirit in which it was made, with full powers to reconcile England to Rome.*

The Privy Council treated the address with the contempt it deserved; the members of the council refused even to receive the letter, the bearer of which hastened to leave the kingdom at the peril of his life.

Although Pole had succeeded, through his own self-assertion and the late king's carelessness on the subject, in obtaining for himself a royal position on the Continent, the family was scarcely thought of in England. If his mother was a Plantagenet, his father was a commoner, and his brother died only a baron. But Reginald presumed on the nearness of his connection, as a cousin to the young king, to address a letter to Edward VI.

In his ignorance of English affairs and of English feeling, he was not aware of the powerful reaction in favour of Protestantism in his native land, occasioned by the repressive and politic measures of Henry VIII., who crushed the tempest he had raised. Neither was he aware that a detestation of popery had been instilled into the mind of the young king, with whom Protestantism had become a passion.

His letter to the king was treated with the same contempt as his letter to the Privy Council. Who was Reginald Pole that he should interfere? The member of a family the royalty of which had not been acknowledged, and himself an attainted member of that family.

* Ep. Poli, iv. 42.

If he ventured to address them as a cardinal, he was an outlaw ; a denaturalized Englishman for having enrolled himself among the princes of a court hostile to his native land ; the minister of a bishop, who had excommunicated the King of England, and whose excommunication exposed him to the ridicule as well as hatred of king and people.

Pole had always asserted that Henry VIII. coerced the people of England to remain hostile to the Bishop of Rome ; that the people were in favour of reconciliation with the apostolic see ; and that he, at the head of a great party in England which only wanted a leader, would be able to carry all before him if assisted by the emperor. He repeated the assertion, but he was not now believed by pope or emperor ; and the rejection of his missives to England now convinced him, that his long-cherished expectations had rested rather on his own imagination than on the real facts of the case.

Pole, deeply mortified, now dwelt in retirement at Viterbo, where he employed his time and amused himself, by preparing a treatise for the edification of Edward VI., as he had formerly composed a treatise by which he had hoped to terrify the young king's father. He little knew the firmness or the obstinacy of those with whom he had to do, or the pride which resented the attempt of a distant and scarcely acknowledged kinsman to dictate to his superiors. The letter to Edward VI. was intended as a kind of preface to the "De Unitate," and was designed to explain, even to apologise for, much which had been said in the treatise last mentioned. It is only justice to Reginald Pole to remark on the improved style and tone of the "Apology to Edward VI.," a work to which we have had frequent occasion to recur when, in the course of this chapter, we have desired to obtain an explanation of Pole's conduct.

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At Viterbo, Pole heard that the government in England, availing itself of the king's minority, had been enriching its members by the spoil of the Church; and that, in order that the spoil might be brought more easily within the grasp of the ministers of the crown, they were deviating from the policy of the old king—who had only sought to reform the established Catholic Church—and were trying to introduce a Protestantism more extreme than Luther himself had tolerated or intended. The hopes of Pole were again excited as, from time to time, he heard that the inconsistencies and greediness of the ruling powers in England, checked only by the firmness and wisdom of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops who supported him, were preparing the way for another revolution. He heard that men of property began to fear, that the spoliation of lay estates might follow the spoliation of the Church: and that thus a stop must be put to the ultra-Protestantism of the evil counsellors of Edward. Pole cautiously determined to watch events, and to bide his time. He seems never to have doubted, that a reaction in favour of Romanism would take place, or that he would himself be at the head of affairs. He thought to conduct a reformation, retaining all that was good in the preceding English reformation, so far as it had gone, together with the abolition of the compulsory celibacy of the clergy, but with the full recognition of the suzerainty of the pope. He hoped for a reformation, but a reformation to be conducted in subordination to Rome; to be conducted, in short, by a convocation based on the principles of Trent. One of the grounds of his hostility to Henry was, that the king's proceedings rendered this, during his lifetime, impossible. Pole did not understand the English character; the feelings of the English were directly antagonistic to his. With the

exception of a few, the people cared little for points of doctrine, but were almost unanimous in their determination to reject the authority of the pope. It was chiefly because it was through doctrine, that this determination was expressed, that for doctrine they would fight, and, if need were, die.

How powerfully Pole had the faculty of winning the affections of his associates and of making friends is apparent in the firmness with which his friends adhered to him even when his failures in public life were conspicuous. In his ambitious flights they cheered him; and when, having soared with waxen wings, he fell, they were at hand to attribute to misfortune what was attributable really to misconduct.

The year 1549, in which Paul III. breathed his last, was an important epoch in the history of Cardinal Pole. Pole's character was by this time well known by those who had the direction of public affairs in Rome; and it is not probable, that a man so essentially weak in character and wanting in judgment, would be selected by either of the dominant parties for the occupation of the papal throne, when it now became vacant. Nevertheless, he was a man of unquestionable learning, generally popular, and, because weak in character, open to influences which might at any time be brought to bear upon him. He was therefore just the man for a compromise, if, in the election of a pope, neither of the dominant parties could obtain the requisite majority in the conclave. Each party would have desired to have in the new pope, a partisan capable of taking a decided lead in politics and of making himself feared by his opponents. But if this could not be accomplished, the next best thing was to secure the triple crown for a man whose moral worth and high bearing would dignify the office, and whom each party expected,

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after the election, to control and govern. Beforehand, it was not easy to conjecture to which party Pole would devote himself, therefore both parties hoped by successful manœuvres to make him their tool. We can easily understand why Pole was not at first thought of; we can also understand why it is probable, as his friends assert, that he very nearly became pope; and it is not difficult also to conjecture, that his conduct, in the conclave, was such as to induce many of those who, in the night, would have elected him, to withhold their suffrages in the morning. It is under these impressions, that we give credit to the statement of Beccatelli, an eye-witness, when he mentions, that Pole might have had the papal throne if he had desired it. We cannot, indeed, reject the statement without an impeachment of Beccatelli's character for veracity, which we are not justified from what we know of his character in doing. That occurred to Pole which frequently must occur when, as in the conclave, a majority of not less than two-thirds is required to decide an election—two rival parties retire from the support of him whom they respectively think best qualified for the place, and, to terminate the controversy, mutually accept a person whom they regard as not unfit.

Paul III. died universally regretted and pitied at Rome—pitied for the troubles in which he was involved by the ingratitude of those, by preferring whom he forfeited a portion of the respect which otherwise would have attached to his character; and regretted, because the old man, with all his faults, had been a benefactor and not an unwise sovereign in what, since the time of Clement, had become an Italian State.

Early in November, 1549, it was notified to Pole by the Cardinal Deacon of the College of Cardinals, that serious apprehensions were entertained of the pope's

life ; and he repaired to Rome. To him Paul had always been a kind and considerate friend ; and Pole entertained towards his deceased benefactor feelings of gratitude, so that his death was to him not merely the loss of a sovereign, but that of a personal friend. He anxiously awaited in an antechamber the report of the Cardinal Penitentiary, who, with the pope's confessor, was in attendance in the sick man's room ; and he knew that all would soon be over when the sacristan of the pope's chapel was summoned to administer extreme unction. Each functionary had his proper office ; and the claims of office were at this time rigidly exacted and conceded. He retired to consult with the Cardinal Camerlengo as to the steps which were to be taken in the event of the pope's demise. The whole government of the city, and of the state, would devolve upon the Cardinal Camerlengo and the three senior cardinals of each order—bishop, priest, deacon. But before the assumption of power, advice was to be sought, especially from those who were regarded as the late pope's friends. A message arrived from the Secretary of State, informing the Cardinal Camerlengo that all was over ; and the cardinal prepared to discharge the first duties of his office by holding, as it were, an inquest over the deceased pontiff's body. Pole saw him approach the dead man's apartment. At the door he paused ; a gilt mallet was placed in his hand, and with this he struck the door three times, calling upon the defunct by his Christian name, by his family name, and by his papal name. No answer was expected ; certainly none was returned. The door was opened, and they were standing at the foot of the deceased pope's bed : Pole looked upon the face of his departed patron, while the Cardinal Camerlengo, having received a silver mallet, tapped his forehead, and for the last time invoked the dead man by name. Falling

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on his knees before the corpse, he declared it to be true, that Paul III. had ceased to live; and he gave orders that the fact should be announced to Rome by the tolling of the great bell of the Capitol.

The tolling of the bell spoke to the heart of Pole: for the happiest days of his life he was indebted to the pope whose death was now announced, and those happy days had been passed at Viterbo. From Viterbo the bell had come. It had been brought to Rome as a trophy, when, in a war with the Viterbese, the Romans, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, had triumphed. When the mind is softened through sorrow, it dwells with complacency upon even trivial matters which seem to connect us with the departed.

The day following, Pole attended a meeting of the cardinals, when the Cardinal Camerlengo produced the piscatorial ring, which he had taken from the late pope's chamber, and it was ordered to be broken.*

Nine days were to elapse between the death of the pope and the convention of the conclave; and nine days they were of lawlessness, all the functions of government being relaxed. Every noble armed his retainers, fortified his palace, and drew chains across the street in which his residence stood; so that Rome, thus barricaded, assumed the appearance of a city armed for civil war. But, notwithstanding this, writes a contemporary, "you

* The earliest record of the use of this ring is in the year 1265. It derives its name from the engraving on its stone of St. Peter drawing in his fisherman's net. It was originally merely the pope's signet for his private correspondence. From the middle of the fifteenth century its use became reserved for the signature of briefs. I will here remark, that for all things explanatory of the conclaves of the cardinals, I am indebted to Mr. W. C. Cartwright, who has the rare art of being able to invest with interest a subject of historical detail. See also Petrucelli della Gattina, *Histoire Diplomatique des Conclaves*.

must not think much harm was done except between special enemies in the heat of passion.”* For the preservation of the public peace, which seems, on this occasion, to have been better kept than usual, the cardinals were assembled in the chapter house of St. Peter’s; and they were there engaged in consultation while the clergy had gone to bring into the church the body of the late pope. The corpse, immediately after the ceremonies just described, had been consigned to the penitentiaries of the Vatican Basilica, by whom it was now delivered to the canons of St. Peter’s. A splendid catafalque had been erected in the chapel of the choir, surrounded by the *Guarde Nobile* in their scarlet uniforms. Here the body was exposed, while, without the accompaniment of instrumental music, —throughout the ceremony proscribed,—the *Miserere* was chanted. The corpse was splendidly attired in white, and was placed with great state, in conformity with an intricate ceremonial, within a shroud of purple silk, ornamented with embroidery and gold fringe.

The face was exposed to the public gaze. It was a ghastly sight; and it became more so when the body was embalmed, from some peculiarity in the Roman mode of operating on such occasions. The sight was rendered more awful by the contrast of the changing remnants of mortality with the unchangeable splendour amidst which it was for the last time placed. The guard of nobles stood on each side of the corpse, silent, with arms reversed, but in their splendid uniforms: on either side was placed a scarlet hat, to signify the temporal and spiritual power of the deceased; a golden mitre was on the head, while the face was changing every hour. The body lay on an inclined plane, and the feet were placed

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close to the iron gate, so that they might be kissed by those who thought that sanctity was still clinging to the body of the poor dead sinner before them. High mass was said, and was repeated every day, until the tenth from his decease, when the obsequies were completed. Pole, as one of the cardinals created by Paul III., was busied about the body of his departed friend to the last. He was in waiting on the Cardinal Camerlengo when the cardinals of the late pope's creation remained in the Gregorian Chapel, there to receive the corpse on its final removal. Upon the bed on which it had lain in state, it was carried, preceded by the choir singing a requiem; a crucifix being carried before it, the *Guarde Nobile*—or Noble Guards—following, and the whole way being lined by soldiers. It was a solemn, silent procession. Not a voice was heard except that of the low chanting of the choir. The multitude was kneeling as the body passed. No light was seen except the lurid flame from the torches of the attendants, which glared with strange lustre on the corpse, now blackened by death—the one dark thing amidst the gold and jewels of those costly habiliments, about to be passed on to one of those cardinals, in whose breasts the fire of ambition was not, even at the mouth of the grave, extinguished. “Vanity of vanities, all is vanity,” saith the preacher. The living heedeth not the truism—for how long? A very few years, and as was Paul III. so were they who, either willingly, or under the constraint of custom, now rendered to him the honours they coveted.

On the arrival of the procession at the chapel, a dirge was sung. Pole and the cardinals of Paul's creation drew near. From the dead man's head the Cardinal Camerlengo removed the golden mitre, smoothed down his hair, and then replaced the mitre, previously to

placing a white silk cloth over the face. Pole and the other cardinals of Paul's creation were, during this process, removing the cloth of gold tissue, upon which the body lay, by the corners and the edges, raising the body from the bed, which was removed from under it. The body was placed in the first of three coffins prepared for its reception, a plain coffin of cedar. A cloth of gold was now spread over the dead man ; and on Paul III., dressed in his pontifical robes, and with the golden mitre on his head, Pole looked for the last time. Three bags of coin struck during his reign, in number as many as the years of the defunct, were placed beneath the coffin, together with a parchment scroll wherein were the details of the pope's history.

The body was afterwards removed to one of the side chapels, where it remained, according to custom, for one whole year ; after which it was buried, and without any peculiar ceremonial.*

From the day of Paul's death, the preparations for the conclave commenced, and nine days hardly sufficed for the completion of the work. The workmen had, within a limited space in the Vatican, to find accommodation for what might be compared to a village or a small town. The comforts of the immured cardinals were to be provided for ; nor were the comforts to be neglected of the many attendants who, in sharing their temporary imprisonment, ministered to their wants, and in doing so, felt an honour to accrue to themselves. Under the title of conclaveists were assembled private secretaries, confessors, physicians, surgeons, carpenters, masons, barbers, sweepers, and menial servants.

* In France, the body of the king preceding the reigning one remained, during the reign of his successor, above ground. In the reign of Charles X. I saw the coffin of Lewis XVIII.

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The election of a new pope was appointed in former times to take place in the palace in which the last pope died ; although, since the time of Pius VII., who died in the Quirinal, it has been in that palace that the conclave has been always held. On the death of Paul III., the Vatican was the place of assembly. The whole of the first floor being cleared, certain cubicles were boarded off to provide, as it were, for each of the cardinals a private residence, where he had a sleeping apartment, and a confined space for reading or for private devotion. The spacious apartment assumed the appearance of a street in which wooden huts were erected. Similar accommodation was provided on the upper floor for the conclavists. Cardinal Pole's cubicle, or cell as it was called, was hung with violet cloth, in sign of mourning, as was the case with all the cardinals created by the late pope ; the other cells were draped with green cloth. The great hall at the top of the Scala Reggia, which serves as a vestibule to the Sistine and Pauline Chapels, was kept as a promenade—it was called facetiously the Playground of the cardinals : here they could take exercise or promenade. It was not a very cheerful place of recreation, for no one in conclave could extend his steps beyond the precincts of the first floor, all windows and apertures in which were jealously walled up, only just so much of the top of the window being left open as was necessary to admit a modicum of light, the spacious panes being guarded from the possible inspection of the curious, by a covering of oiled cloth. One door was left unwalled to admit cardinals who arrived after the commencement of business, or the ceremonial visits of royal personages who might be passing through Rome. But these doors, except on such occasions, were kept carefully closed, with four locks—two on the outside, the keys of which were en-

trusted to the Prince Marshal ; and two on the inner side, the key of one being in charge of the Camerlengo, and the other in the custody of the Master of the Ceremonies. By the side of the door there was a contrivance for admitting food, which had been invented by Paris de Grassie, in 1503, when he acted as Master of the Ceremonies at the election of Julius II. It was a turning machine, still used, it is said, in some monasteries : a kind of box, in which, day by day, the meals, ready dressed, of the conclavists were placed in heated dishes on the outside. These dishes were carefully inspected, to guard against the transmission of notes, or other communications to the cardinals ; after the inspection had been duly made, the wheel turned, and hungry servants appropriated what they could, each for his master's repast, and for his own. In other parts of the building there were other wheels of a similar character, so that there was no excuse for a scramble. Outside the building, round the walls, and at every approach, soldiers were posted, under the command of the Prince Marshal, and no one was permitted to draw near the palace without a pass medal. In the Pauline Chapel, six altars, supplementary to the high altar, were erected, at which each cardinal and conclavist performed his daily mass, while the Sistine Chapel was set apart for voting operations ; the Roman Church differing from the modern Anglican in this—that while the latter will not permit anything but the immediate offices of devotion to be performed in a consecrated building, the Roman Church believes that any work designed to promote the glory of God may be carried on in God's House. There is no law against this proceeding in the Anglo-Catholic Church, but the prejudices of the people are offended if even an unoccupied portion of a church is dedicated to the services of education and used as a Sunday

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school. In our cathedrals the old system still remains, and bishops, chancellors, and archdeacons hold their courts within the consecrated walls. The Sistine Chapel was the polling booth of the assembled cardinals; and there a scrutiny took place twice every day, until two-thirds were agreed in their choice. Although we shall have occasion presently to observe, that other forms of voting were occasionally resorted to, the regular form was by scrutiny.*

On the tenth day from the death of Paul III., Reginald Pole, with the other cardinals, entered into conclave. They went in procession to the Pauline Chapel. Pole was attended by Beccatelli and his faithful Priuli, preceded and followed by other members of his household. He attended a mass of the Holy Ghost, at which a sermon was delivered to remind the electors of the solemn responsibility of their office. The palace was not finally closed, however, till a late hour in the evening. In his cell he received visits of ceremony or of friendship from the numerous persons with whom he was acquainted. It was a busy and a strange scene. Here were assembled ambassadors and envoys and political agents from every European power; England excepted, and some of the German States, as well as Russia. All kinds of political intrigues are supposed to have taken place on such an occasion; but by none of the great powers was Pole supposed to possess that influence, among the members of the Sacred College, which might render it necessary to pay to him more than the usual compliments due to a royal personage. Still his friends were numerous. From cell to cell, impelled by curiosity or by the love of intrigue, or by messages to cardinals from princes of their native

* The form is to be found in Mabillon's *Museum Italicum*, and also in Cartwright.

land, crowds were seen passing to and fro. Conversation was loud, and laughter and wit were not suppressed, until three hours before sunset. Then a bell sounded; the Master of the Ceremonies made his appearance; with a loud sonorous voice he said and repeated, "*Extra omnes!*" The crowd withdrew. The walling up of the doors and windows was completed; the four heavy locks of the one unwall'd door, through which the crowd had entered and retired, were turned with due formality: those outside by the Prince Marshal, those within by the Camerlengo and the three senior cardinals of the several orders of bishop, priest, and deacon, who had been associated with him for the government of Rome since the late pope's death.

A solemn silence pervaded the building. It was no pleasing prospect for the inmates of the cells, some of them old and feeble and self-indulgent, to be deprived of their comforts nobody knew for how long. Few were so well and wisely occupied as Pole. It reflects credit upon his character, that he was sufficiently collected, calm, and unconcerned to employ himself in literary labour. He composed a work, divided into two books, on "The Duties of the Papal Office." It was composed in the form of a dialogue between Cardinal d'Urbino and himself, and, according to Dudithius, he afterwards enlarged it to five books. Gratiani mentions also his composition of an oration, intended to be addressed to the conclave, in the event of his election to the papacy; and for this making sure of his election Gratiani is severe upon Pole. I confess, that it strikes me in a different point of view. When persons are in expectation of anything which they eagerly desire to obtain, they are seldom found to prepare themselves elaborately for the event. It is much more probable that he wrote the oration, half in pleasantry,

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to occupy his mind and to amuse his friends Beccatelli and Priuli. There had been other periods of his life when he may have thought his election to the pontifical chair a thing possible; but at this time he was a humiliated man, and must have regarded his election as among the most improbable of events.

There was so much to excite the passions of the electors, that we can easily understand how a man with any facility of composition should seek to pacify his mind by resort to literary labour; the surest method of enabling him to withdraw his attention from subjects upon which it is fatiguing to dwell. Twice every day the excitement, sometimes the anxiety, must have been intense.

After performing his devotions in the Pauline Chapel, Pole had to separate from his immediate friends, and join his brethren of the Sacred College in the Sistine Chapel. The floor of the chapel in front of the altar was covered with a green carpet. On the Gospel side of the altar a chair was placed for the reception of the new pope, seated on which he was destined to receive the adoration of the cardinals immediately after his election. Within the railing there was a seat for each cardinal, with a canopy over it; that of Pole, like his cell, being draped with violet-coloured cloth. The canopies of all the cardinals, except those who, like Pole, had been created by Paul III., were green. Before him, as before each cardinal, was a table with all the materials required for writing and registering his vote. In front of the altar, on the Epistle side, was a large table, with the chalice, which served the purpose of a ballot box; at the back was the fireplace, where, after an inconclusive ballot, the papers were burned. The chimney of this fireplace was anxiously watched each afternoon by the crowd outside. Among the watchers were many who had staked large

sums, in wagers, as to the result of the election: they knew, when they saw the smoke issuing from the chimney, that Rome was still without a sovereign, and they re-arranged their betting books.

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In the forenoon, the process of voting was by a simple ballot; the mode of proceeding in the evening was by what was technically called *adhering*. No new name could be placed in the chalice; but the voters might adhere to some cardinal whose name had been drawn at the early ballot, but for whom they had not at that time voted. The next morning, any new names might be introduced. The voting papers were square, and folded down so that at each end there was a sealed portion, within the upper one of which each cardinal wrote his name. This was only to be opened under special circumstances. In the other portion of the voting paper, sealed with the cardinal's seal, was written some motto from Scripture, to be retained at all the ballots, and to serve ordinarily as the means for the identification of the vote. In the middle space, which was kept open, was written the name of the person for whom the cardinal voted.

When all who were assembled in the chapel had taken their places, and had prepared their voting papers, there was a solemn silence. The silence declared that each voter was ready. The cardinal now advanced to the altar; he said a short prayer in secret; with a loud voice he made oath, invoking the Saviour as a witness of his sincerity, that the vote he was about to give was dictated by conscientious convictions alone; standing before the altar, he dropped his voting paper into the chalice. Three cardinals, selected by lot, were the scrutators. Each paper was handed from one to the other, and was by the last to whom it was handed filed upon a pin. If a candidate should have the requisite majority of two-

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thirds, then it became necessary to open the upper folded portion of the voting papers, with a view to ascertain that the candidate did not vote for himself, for such a proceeding immediately vitiated the election. If the requisite number of votes were not given in the morning ballot, the papers were preserved, to be a check, through the mottoes, upon the votes given in the supplementary ballot in the afternoon; for no cardinal was, at that time, to give a second vote to the candidate for whom he had voted in the morning. The candidate whom he supported in the morning having failed, he might decline to vote, or give a vote to some one else, previously named, by writing on his voting paper, "*Accedo Domino Cardinali*," and then giving the name. If he declined to give a second vote, or persisted in his morning's choice, he merely inserted the word "*Nemini*." When both ballots failed to procure for any one the requisite number of votes, the voting papers were burned, the crowd outside again retired disappointed; and the cardinals and the conclavists returned to their cells or dormitories.

It is not strictly true, as his panegyrists assert, that there was no canvassing among the cardinals in favour of Reginald Pole, but we may readily believe, that such canvassing originated in the zeal of friends, and received no encouragement from Pole himself.* His ambition in this direction was modified by certain counterbalancing feelings. His heart had long been set upon reconciling England with Rome; and in so doing we know, from documents at Simancas, that he still thought it possible that, in effecting this—the great object of his life—he might become the consort of the queen, and so *de facto* king of his native

* Gratiani, in his *Istoria della Conclava di Giulio di Terzo*, alludes to the canvassing of Cardinal Farnese on behalf of Pole.

land.* He would have regarded an election to the pontifical throne the higher honour; but still his heart so clung to England, that he was in the position of one who would have gratefully accepted the papacy if it were offered to him, but would not bestir himself to obtain a situation for the discharge of the duties of which he must have had an unacknowledged consciousness of his incompetence. Nevertheless, as we have said, there can be no reasonable doubt, from the statements of Beccatelli and Gratiani, who might exaggerate but who would not have uttered a deliberate falsehood, that Pole only just missed the papal crown. There were three parties in the conclave: the Imperialists, the French, and a small Italian party headed by Farnese, the nephew or grandson of the late pope. Farnese had no chance of success himself, but

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* There are two or three instances on record of the marriage of cardinals, or of their being permitted to resign their cardinalates in furtherance of some political object. Ferdinand de Medici, in 1588, was authorized to throw off the purple, and to become Grand Duke of Tuscany; in 1662, Cardinal Maurice of Savoy was permitted to take a wife and a duchy; in 1695, Cardinal Rinaldo of Este was allowed to make a secular change in his condition: on the death of King Ladislaus of Poland, his brother Casimir, named a cardinal in 1646, received a dispensation, not merely to abandon the purple, but also to marry his sister-in-law, the king's widow, Mary Gonzaga. Other cases in addition to these are produced by Mr. Cartwright; but I shall only mention that of the Cardinal Archduke Albert, in the time of Sixtus V., as an instance where a dispensation to marry was conceded to a royal personage to meet political or family exigencies. A list, by no means a short one, might be produced of cardinals who were permitted to return to secular life, for, as the author to whom I have just referred observes, the cardinalitian title, properly speaking, is not a grade in the Church, but merely a dignity in the court of Rome. The cardinal is a high personage in the pope's court, which being strictly ecclesiastical, it is incumbent on all the members thereof to conform, for as long as they continue so, to the garb and fashion of an ecclesiastical character; which they may, nevertheless, obtain a dispensation to renounce.

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he hoped to reign through his nominee. He was determined to select a man who had expressed devotion to the late pope, and whom he would bind by a double tie of gratitude to the Farnese family. He selected Pole as his man of straw ; and by an intrigue with the Imperialists, he nearly carried his point.

We shall best understand the state of the case by explaining to the reader, that although election by ballot was the regular method of creating a pope, yet, anterior to the statute of Gregory XV., there were in these elections several variations and irregularities. Then, as now, an election by compromise was permitted, and the manner by which this mode of procedure is described, indicates the character of the proceeding. To a small committee of cardinals was delegated the power, which the whole body, through its deputies, found itself unable to exercise. The Sacred College pledged itself to support the person selected by the committee.

Then there was the election by inspiration, when spontaneously, and without preceding conference, all the electors, as moved by the Spirit, proclaimed the same individual. By ecclesiastical writers it is shown, that such an election never, or scarcely ever, did in reality take place : this kind of election was the result almost invariably of a previous conference, if not of a conspiracy. Some one gave out a name as by inspiration ; the conspirators shouted an affirmative response ; the wearied and excited minority, carried away by the apparent enthusiasm, joined in the cheers ; and the person named was seen in the papal chair, his partisans kissing his feet.*

And now returning to Pole : the party of the Imperialists were ready to coalesce with the Italian party headed

* I give this account from a collation of the partial narratives of Beccatelli, and of Gratiani De Casibus Illust. Viror. 226.

by Farnese, in order to prevent the French party from triumphing. The French party, not aware of its own strength, had no particular objection to Pole, who had always been on friendly terms with the French king. There was something in the nature of a compromise, understood rather than proposed. One person only refused to vote for Pole, in all probability—we might almost say with certainty that—he was Cardinal Caraffa. It was thought, however, that if Pole could be brought into the Sistine Chapel at once, and if his name were given as by inspiration, and received with enthusiasm, real or feigned, even the obstinate opponent would shrink from being in a minority of one, and would be forced, as it were, to do homage to the person selected by the rest of his colleagues.

It was at a late hour when the Italian party determined to proceed to action. Pole had long since retired to rest. Two cardinals presented themselves at the door of his cell. The attendants had no inclination to refuse them admission. The messengers from the body of cardinals informed the astonished Pole of the determination of his brethren to make him pope, and entreated him to repair immediately to the chapel. Pole assented. He would follow them as soon as he was properly attired. During his preparation he had time to reconsider his case, and to realize his position. It was proposed to have recourse to an irregular election—the consequence was almost sure to be an anti-pope, or certainly confusion and controversy for years. We may presume that this kind of thought occurred to Pole; for, instead of repairing, as he had promised, to the chapel, he caused a message to be conveyed to the two cardinals, in which he counselled delay till the morning, when everything could be done decently and in order. He who inspired them at night could continue the

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inspiration on the morrow, when even a small minority against him would prevent his election.

The cardinals agreed to the delay.

It was a night of great excitement among the friends of Pole, who represent the cardinal himself as singularly calm. In the morning, things took their usual course. Pole attended the meeting in the Pauline Chapel. No communication had been made to him when, his devotions being concluded, he passed over to the Sistine Chapel. There he took his usual seat. Farnese's scheme had failed; the Imperialists withdrew their support, and brought forward Morone, who had already won a high character as a divine. The French party objected: he was only forty-one years of age, and so young a man would exclude for ever, from all chances of the pontifical chair, many middle-aged aspirants, who saw in his election their own virtual exclusion.

The patience of the cardinals, however, was nearly exhausted; and, notwithstanding the precautions taken to exclude the outer world, a rumour had reached them, that if Rome were long without a sovereign, riots of a serious nature might ensue.

Farnese perceived it to be hopeless to persevere in the support of Pole, and he explained his reasons. After his repudiation of all ambitious motives, Pole had no choice but to withdraw his pretensions with a smile. Farnese then entered into communication with the Cardinal of Guise, the leader of the French party. The only result of the conference was a great inclination to do something to bring matters to a settlement, and a decrease on both sides of the violence of party feeling. It was the 7th of February, 1550. The second ballot had taken place, but the majority of two-thirds had been secured by no one. The cardinals, disappointed and perplexed, were lingering in the chapel; five or six were standing in front of the altar,

and among them Giovanni Maria del Monte, of whom no one had thought. He was a good-natured, popular man, but utterly unfit for the papal dignity. He said jocosely—"Choose me, and, the very next day, every one who votes for me shall be my favourite and companion."* It was ten o'clock at night. Del Monte had no scruples, such as had influenced Pole, as to the lateness of the hour. "Elect me," he said: "Del Monte for pope!" was the response returned by the whole college. It was at first a whisper; it was, in a moment, an acclamation. He took his seat beneath his canopy. Every other canopy was lowered; and, as if by magic, there sat Giovanni Maria del Monte to receive the first adoration. Pole was among the first to kneel before the new pope. The conclave was declared to be dissolved. The doors were thrown open. At the window of the re-opened balcony, the Cardinal Dean proclaimed Julius III., amidst the loud and long acclamations of the delighted and astonished multitude.

It was too late to complete or continue the ceremonies by an immediate procession to the high altar of St. Peter's; and this was deferred till the following morning.†

* Ranke, i. 187. Gregory VII., Clement VII., Paul III., Julius III., Marcellus II., Paul IV., Pius IV., and Pius V., all figure, says Mr. Cartwright, on the list which confounds acclamation such as follows discussion, with an inspiration little short of miraculous. No one can read the account of the election of Julius without feeling sure, that the whole scheme had been preconcerted by a large majority of cardinals.‡

† The ceremonies in St. Peter's, necessarily delayed on this occasion, had generally followed immediately upon the election of a pope, when the election took place in the Vatican. The conclave has of late years been held in the Quirinal, and the final ceremonies take place the next day. So immediate used to be the completion of the ceremony, as if to prevent an improvised opposition, that three sets of the pontifical vestments were kept in the Vatican, of different sizes, in order that the pope, whether tall, short, or middle-sized, might be ready at once for his work.

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Thither, at ten o'clock, Julius III. was borne on the Sedes Gestatoria, to receive what was called the second and third adoration. He was received by the choir, singing the anthem *Tu es Petrus*. He was in full pontificals, and wore his golden mitre. The cardinals were seated down the nave. The pontiff approached the high altar, knelt before it, and prayed; then rising from his knees, he seated himself upon a cushion placed on the high altar itself, on which there remained nothing but a crucifix, a paten, and a chalice. The cardinals who had created their idol, one by one, knelt before him; each kissed his foot and his hand, and was saluted by kisses from the pope on both his cheeks. During this ceremony, the *Te Deum* was sung by the choir, the Cardinal Dean having intoned it. When this ceremony, justly offensive to many minds, had been gone through, Julius retired to a robing room, there to change his vestments; while the bells were chiming, and the cannon firing, to announce the fact that the second adoration was completed. He reappeared in other robes, but still in much splendour, and was carried round to all the Basilicæ to take possession of them. At each of them he took his seat upon the altar, and was adored by the clergy of the Basilica.

Julius III. was now the servant of the servants of God.

The election of such a person at such a time seems to confirm the statement with respect to Pole, that if he had bestirred himself, he might, instead of adoring Del Monte, have been himself adored. Even in his humility he must have felt that he was himself less unworthy of the position than Del Monte. But we cannot doubt, that the perils and the troubles to which, under the most favourable circumstances, the pope would, at that period, have been exposed, presented themselves in full force to the

mind of Pole, a timid, irresolute, and very indolent man. He had ambition, and when he counselled delay, he expected to have his ambition gratified ; but his indolence always led him to await, rather than to create, his circumstances.

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Few readers, who have studied the character of Pole, will endorse the statement of Beccatelli, who speaks of his conduct as exhibiting a self-denial without parallel. The language employed by Beccatelli, when describing Pole's calmness, after the result of the election was made known, implies his disappointment. The honour, he remarked, would have been great, but it was a greater joy to him to have escaped a burden. "Peradventure," he continued, "I was not a sufficient instrument to effect the good purposes that Providence designs to work under the present pontificate." What is added is more significant still : "He also comforted several of his principal opponents, who bore their disappointment with less composure than he did himself." The honour, when we investigate it, was not so great as it at first appears. The two great parties produced their most distinguished men ; they fell back upon Pole and Del Monte merely because both parties regarded them as persons who might be easily swayed by the counsels of abler men, in whose hands they would be mere puppets.

Another thing occurred which is worthy of note. The emperor settled upon Pole an annuity of two thousand crowns, charging the bishopric of Toledo with the payment. Charles was not likely to do this from mere good-will ; it is more probable, that Pole, when he had obtained influence in the conclave, gave it to the Imperialists. His love of money was one of his besetting sins.

So completely did Pole retire now from public life, that for the next three years we know nothing of his history. By the death of Henry VIII. and the triumph of Protes-

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tantism under his youthful successor, who might have lived and reigned for half a century, the services of Pole were not required; and he passed into insignificance. So much was this the case, that when the sittings of the Council of Trent were resumed, Julius III. did not appoint his former colleague to act as one of the presidents. This omission confirms the suspicion which we have expressed, that the retirement of Pole from the council after the sixth session, is to be attributed to some other cause besides the ill-health which served as the pretext.

Rome certainly offered no attractions at this time to a man of Pole's character. His good taste must have approved of the designs of the Villa di Papa Giulio, which excites, to the present day, the admiration of fashionable or artistic pilgrim to Rome; but the splendid entertainments in which Julius delighted were not calculated to give pleasure to Pole, while the witty but unguarded conversation, interlarded with indecent jests, of a pope was justly offensive to the piety of one who, in the cause of the papacy, regarded himself as a confessor, and thought it not improbable that he might die a martyr.

From the government of the Patrimony Pole now retired. On the death of Contarini, he had been elected Cardinal Protector of the Benedictine Order; and he at this time made his home, as a recluse, in the convent of Magguzzano, on the banks of the Lago di Garda. Here he dwelt, a disappointed man, who had outlived some of his dearest friends, including in the number some of the best and noblest characters in Italy—Contarini, Bembo, Sadoletto, Giberti, and, neither last nor least, but first in his veneration and affection, Vittoria Colonna. Pole's health was feeble, and he was beginning to show symptoms of that premature old age, so remarkable at

that period.* All these circumstances are worthy of notice, because we may suspect, that they tended to acerbate Pole's temper; and they may enable us in some degree, to account for that change of character for the worse, which undoubtedly becomes visible from this period.

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He had ceased to take an interest in public affairs, when he was recalled suddenly to the political world by a message from the pope, in the year 1553, announcing the death of King Edward VI. Although the state of the king's health must have prepared people in England for the event, it seems to have taken the court of Julius by surprise. When his death was known, neither the pope nor his counsellors had the decency to place any restraint on their exultation. They celebrated the young king's death as a victory; and Pole became once more an important personage. Julius directed him to put himself, without loss of time, into communication with his cousin, Queen Mary. The pope and his whole college of cardinals, it was stated, were now fully prepared to act implicitly on Pole's advice. His credentials as legate to the Queen of England, to the emperor, and to the King of France were already in a state of preparation; and Pole would be appointed papal ambassador to those princes, and to any others with whom he might be brought into contact. The letters patent would be submitted to Pole before they were signed, that additions might be made if he had anything to suggest. It seems that some doubts were entertained whether Pole,

* In a former volume I have mentioned the curious fact that so many of the leading characters of the age died, with all the symptoms of old age, between the years of fifty and sixty. Lewis XII. died an old man in his fifty-fourth year; Francis I. at fifty-three; Maximilian at sixty; Charles V. at fifty-nine; Wolsey at fifty-five; Henry VII. at fifty-two.

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being at this time in feeble health and prematurely old, having also renounced public life, would undertake an office which required an union of youthful vigour with the wisdom which is the result of experience. He was entreated, therefore, to accept the legation as a favour; and the offer was made of appointing Richard Pate, bishop designate of Worcester, as nuncio, to be employed as the legate might think fit.* Nothing could be more complete than the powers with which Pole was intrusted. "You can stand in need," it was said, "of no directions or advice from us, for no one can be better informed than yourself of the measures it will be expedient to adopt; the whole affair therefore is intrusted to your discretion, knowledge, charity, and zeal."†

Pole had become a wiser if not a better man. His past failures had taught him caution, and his advices from England convinced him, that the upper classes were determined to retain the plunder by which, during the anarchy of the late reign, they had been enriched; that the middle classes were deeply imbued with Protestantism, and were ready to maintain its principles, if need should be, by their very life's blood; that the humbler classes, always ready for a scramble, were united with all classes of Englishmen in that which had been, for centuries, a principle and an enthusiasm—an abhorrence of Roman domination. Among thoughtful and pious people

* Richard Pate, though called in the papal documents Bishop of Worcester, was not consecrated till March, 1554. He had been appointed envoy to the emperor in 1534, and again in 1540; but, offended at the proceedings of Henry VIII., he remained self-exiled until, in 1554, he was duly consecrated, being only before, as he is described in the writ, bishop elect.

† Ep. Poli, iv. 109. The letter is dated from Rome, 6th of August, 1553. See also 429.

a reaction had certainly taken place ; in ousting the pope they had been careful to defend the proceeding on the Catholic principles, by which they were guided themselves, and they had become thoroughly disgusted at the selfishness with which the Church was robbed through the piety or rapacity of the courtiers of Edward VI. But the question was, whether this party was sufficiently powerful and influential to enable the queen, of whose principles he had no doubt, to maintain the cause which both he and she had at heart.

Pole immediately wrote to the queen. His letter was composed of the usual commonplaces. After reference to Providential mercy, and the consequent duty of labouring to promote the glory of God, Pole offered his services to Mary, and desired to receive her commands. These were to be signified to him through Henry Penning, the trusty messenger who was to place the letter in her majesty's hands.*

The bearer of the letter had directions to call upon Dandino, the papal legate in Flanders, from whom he was to receive further instructions. Cardinal Dandino may be said to have superseded Penning, by associating with him in his mission to England a remarkable person, who afterwards became distinguished as a cardinal of the Roman Church—Giovanni Francesco Commendone.

The association of Commendone with Penning was craftily devised, that there might be some one to watch over the Spanish interests when the agent of Pole appeared at the English court. They acted together in a desire to ascertain the queen's secret wishes and the state of feeling in England.

* The letter, in Latin, with the queen's answer, is found in Quirini, iv. 428, ex Tom. xxi. *Annalium Ecclesiasticorum Oderici Raynaldi*.

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The two agents travelled in disguise—Commendone as a foreign merchant going to England to settle the accounts of a deceased uncle, Penning as his servant. They sailed from Gravelines, and arrived in London on the 8th of August.

They found the Protestant feeling stronger than they had expected, and complained that the queen was little better than a prisoner in her own house. No dependence was placed by the Protestant party upon her promises; and to prevent her from intriguing against a privy council which, by circumstances, had been forced upon her, she was under strict though secret surveillance. This rendered her less accessible, at that time, than the sovereigns of England had generally been.*

Commendone, however, found a friend whose acquaintance he had made in Italy. This person, named Lee, was a relation of the Duke of Norfolk, and held a subordinate position at court. He was able to obtain for Commendone and his companion a private interview with the queen. Mary expressed her cordial sympathy with the authorities at Rome, and declared her intention to cause all acts of the former two reigns against the see of Rome to be repealed. But she remarked, that, until the popular feeling against Rome had subsided, precaution was necessary; and she entreated Commendone carefully to preserve his incognito. Northumberland was to be placed on his trial, and the queen felt herself every day becoming more and more secure upon her throne; but still public affairs were in a state of confusion. As regarded her marriage, three courses were open to her. She might marry Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, which was the match most popular in England; but against

* Vie de Commendone par Graziani, traduite par Fléchier, p. 49. Noailles, ii. 245.

which she was at this time resolved. The emperor had already proposed a match between her and his son Philip, Prince of Spain ; but she wished to leave an impression on Commendone's mind, that she had not as yet relinquished all thoughts of a marriage with her cousin Reginald Pole. She inquired whether, as Pole was not in priest's orders, a dispensation for such a marriage could be procured.*

Although she thus spoke, she had probably already determined what to do ; for a short time afterwards, she sent for Commendone, and informed him, that she was already in treaty with the emperor, and that she intended to give her hand to the Prince of Spain. Her allusion, however, to the possibility of a marriage with Reginald Pole is of some importance, for it justifies, on the one hand, the suspicions so frequently entertained by the emperor, and, on the other, the expectations of the cardinal.

Commendone remained long enough to witness the execution of the apostate and traitor Northumberland ; and was then in such haste to communicate this intelligence, which the foreigners thought of much importance, and more particularly the adherence of the queen to the Romish system, that he travelled day and night ; performing, indeed, a feat scarcely credible before the invention of the railroad, he is said to have arrived at Rome on the ninth day after his leaving London.†

Penning, who had found means at the first interview to convey Pole's letter to the queen, under plea of waiting for an answer, remained in London until the coronation, and until the parliament was opened ; both of which events he witnessed.

The queen was evidently rather anxious to know how

* Fléchier, Vie du Cardinal Commendone, p. 50.

† To make the statement more marvellous, it is said that he made a diversion from the direct route to meet Pole at his monastery.

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Pole would receive the intelligence of her marriage with Philip; and, as his subsequent conduct shows, the emperor could not, for some time, divest himself of the notion that even now Pole might, if admitted to the royal presence, be a dangerous rival to his son. The queen's letter, which I have before me, is written in good Latin; but it contains nothing of importance. She admits the debt of gratitude she owed to a merciful Providence, and thanks Pole for his most affectionate admonitions. If there had existed no tie of consanguinity between them, she said, and even if they had not been very closely connected, yet such a mark of friendship as he displayed would have demanded her most grateful thanks. She would attend to his instructions as far as it was possible; but the bearer of the answer would explain to him the difficulties under which she was placed.

The queen had now placed herself in the hands of the emperor, whose cautious ambassador guided her counsels in secret. It was the policy of this watchful minister to prevent Pole from coming immediately, if at all, into England; and this accounts for a second letter from the queen to Pole, which may be regarded as a postscript to the first. It was intended to press upon him more earnestly, the absolute necessity of suspending his journey to London. His appointment as a legate was generally suspected; and the notion of his appearing in that character was so odious to her subjects, that however much his coming was desired by his friends, it would be, at the present time, prejudicial to the cause rather than an advantage.* Pole was willing, as we have seen, to go far with the Protestants on doctrinal points,

* "*Adeo enim Delegatio tua publica est suspecta et nostris subditis odiosa ut maturior accessus, licet desideratissimus, plus præjudicii, quam auxilii fuerit allaturus.*"—Ep. Poli, iv. 119.

but made his stand on the spiritual suzerainty of the pope; and therefore the queen warned him that the very opposite was the prevalent feeling in England. There would be more difficulty, she tells him, in bringing her subjects under the authority of the apostolic see, than in going back to the abrogated forms of worship—the minds of the people were so completely alienated from the pope.

In another letter, written about a fortnight later, the queen informs the cardinal, that the people would attack Pole's life rather than permit him to exercise the office of papal legate. So opposed were her subjects to the see of Rome, that she would prefer an adjournment of his coming, and the execution of his commission, *sine die*, than risk the disturbance that his arrival would at this time create. She said, that her ministers had succeeded in bringing things back to the position in which they had been left by Henry VIII.; but, anxious as she was to see her kingdom purged of schism, she despaired of prevailing on the parliament, then in session, to proceed further. But a new parliament would be called in the course of three or four months; and as things might then take a favourable turn, she desired Pole to invent a pretext for taking up his abode at Brussels, as a place convenient for their secret correspondence.

Notwithstanding the kind terms in which the queen wrote, Pole suspected by whom the letters were dictated, and he complained that they were written in Latin instead of the vernacular, in which official personages were accustomed to address their friends. Instead of being sent by a confidential agent, he only found them tossed carelessly, and as if of no importance, into the midst of some public despatches. Less worldly wise than the queen, he exhorted her to be influenced by religious feelings only, and not by worldly policy. He even accused Mary of being

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blinded by her passion for Philip. She was, indeed, on that point, as in the case of her father with reference to Anne Boleyn, infatuated almost to insanity. When first the Spanish match was proposed to her, she was inclined to treat it as a joke ; it was absurd, she said, to suppose that she could win the affections of a boy, as she was pleased to call him—but by degrees she suffered the idea to saturate her mind, until her love became a passion amounting, in its intensity, almost to madness.

She would do anything to please the prince and his father ; and her minister, Bishop Gardyner, concurred with them in the opinion that the appearance of Pole as a legate in England, before the country was prepared for such a step, would not only be fatal to the papal cause, but would also endanger the very throne itself. Pole could not or would not understand the necessity of this caution. He suspected Gardyner of knavery, while Gardyner deprecated the folly of Pole. It was therefore left to the emperor to impede the progress of the legate, who had already quitted his retirement at Magguzzano.

The papal authorities sympathized with Pole, and were accordingly distrusted by the emperor. They were as earnest in expediting, as Charles was in retarding, Pole's return to England. The legate's treasury received two thousand crowns for the expenses of the journey, and he had full power to act as he might think expedient without previously communicating with the pope ; he had powers given him to effect a reconciliation, if possible, between the emperor and the King of France, as he passed through their respective kingdoms.

On entering the Tyrol, his friends at Trent welcomed him in his new capacity with joy ; and among his friends no one was more staunch to him and his cause than the Cardinal Bishop, the prince of that city, whom we have seen taking an active part in the proceedings of the council. From

Trent he despatched messengers to notify his speedy arrival at the respective courts with a view of effecting a peace—so often, and yet so vainly attempted. Thence he moved, with a splendid retinue, towards Augsburg; and when he was within two days' journey of the last-named city, he was met by the Cardinal Bishop, by whom he was invited to take up his abode at Dillingen, a monastery on the banks of the Danube. It was winter, and the weather was severe; he rested, therefore, for a few days with his friend, who had converted Dillingen into a university. Having been informed that the emperor was keeping his court at Brussels, Pole left Dillingen for Flanders. He had not proceeded far, when he encountered a splendid cavalcade; and Mendoza, the imperial minister, whom we have seen before acting as the ambassador at Venice, presented himself to the cardinal. He was the bearer of a message from Charles, to the effect, that it was his majesty's pleasure that the cardinal should proceed no further on his journey: this delay was necessary to the happy issue of the business on which the legate was now engaged. It was added, that the legate would receive due notice when a more favourable opportunity should occur for the prosecution of his mission. In the mean time, if the legate did not think fit to return to Italy, he had permission to take up his abode either at Liège or at Dillingen, where he was to await the emperor's pleasure as to the resumption of his journey.

Pole elected to return to Dillingen. But he felt that an order so peremptorily given, without a reason assigned, to a papal ambassador, was an insult offered to the pope himself, regarded either in his temporal or spiritual capacity. In vain, however, did the legate and the pope remonstrate. Charles was obdurate; but Julius upheld the dignity of his legate by allowing him, if he should think fit, to lay aside his public character, and to pass as

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a private gentleman into England, resuming his legatine character when he might think it expedient to do so.*

Of this dangerous permission Pole had not courage to avail himself. It was indeed notified to him, that the queen would not permit it. His conduct, however, at this time was dignified. His first object was to proceed as legate to England, but, at the same time, he had been also commissioned to enter into negotiations with the emperor and the French king, with a view to terminate the war between these two great powers. Although he was forbidden the court of Brussels, Pole made overtures to Charles : such overtures, however, the Cæsar evidently regarded as an impertinence. He coldly remarked that he had never been averse to peace, provided honourable conditions were proposed, and such as would lead to a lasting pacification. Nothing could be done until the intentions of the French king were known. This insinuation afforded Pole a pretext for proceeding on his journey to Paris, as soon as he was certified of a courteous reception at the French court.

Pole had certainly one characteristic of genius : he found pleasure, under circumstances of great excitement, in literary composition ; and on this occasion he penned a treatise for the edification of Charles V. and of Henry II. of France, in which the usual commonplaces employed on such occasions are well arranged, and adroitly applied to existing circumstances.

Of Pole's reception at Paris we have an account in a letter written by Dr. Wotton to Queen Mary.† The French, hearing that he had come on a mission of peace, hailed him with enthusiasm as he passed through the several towns of France. The people strewed flowers

* Quirini, iv. 432.

† See especially State Papers, Foreign, 1553-1558, p. 72.

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in his way, and the clergy received him with processions. This, perhaps, gave offence to a government determined on a continuance of the war; and on his arrival in Paris, he was informed that the king, Henry II., was at Fontainebleau, and was too much occupied by his devotions, it being Holy Week, to grant him an immediate interview. The king, however, purposed at Easter to return to Paris, when the legate would have an opportunity of discharging the duties of his mission. A fortnight passed, and no notice was taken of Pole by the court; when suddenly a change in the policy of the government took place. It was felt, probably, that if Pole were to return to England, his influence with the queen would be great, and that therefore to conciliate such a personage, and to obtain his good offices, were worth the consideration of the King of France. An invitation to Fontainebleau therefore came to Pole. He had no longer to complain of inattention or want of respect. He had scarcely reached Corbeil before he was overtaken by Cardinal Chastillon, who had arrived too late to join him at Paris, but who was to accompany him to the court. They travelled together without the occurrence of any incident, until a cavalcade was discovered approaching the legate, about a mile and a half from Fontainebleau. Monsieur d'Enghien, the Duke of Nemours, the Great Prior of France, and his brother, the Marquis d'Elbœuf, with their respective suites, had been sent forward to do honour to the legate, who was now at the head of a magnificent procession, the ecclesiastical and military pomp being in combination. Pole arrived at the palace thus attended; and at the outer court there met him the dauphin, attended by the Duke of Lorraine. The legate immediately alighted from his horse, the dauphin being on foot, and they walked together towards the royal apartments. On reach-

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ing the great staircase, Pole saw the king himself waiting to welcome him. His majesty was attended by the Constable of France, the Duke of Guise, and other members of his council. After a cordial greeting, the king himself led the way to the royal closet. The conference lasted half an hour; at the expiration of which time Henry himself attended the legate to the queen's apartments, where he was presented to Catherine de Medici. At six o'clock the Constable of France was announced, with whom, in his private apartments, the legate was closeted for two hours.

The result of these conferences has not been made known: the object was merely to secure the good-will of Pole in any future negotiations between the sovereigns of England and France. The Spanish match was of course mentioned, and not, we presume, very respectfully, in the court of Henry II. One of the charges brought against Pole, both at Brussels and in England, was that he encouraged the French, when they spoke in disparagement of the approaching marriage between the Queen of England and the Prince of Spain. But, as far as I can discover, he only remained silent, or turned the conversation, when this subject was brought upon the tapis; and as it was not a point on which he was commissioned to speak, although it showed bad taste, if not bad feeling, on the part of the French king if he brought it forward, yet surely the reticence of Pole was only a part of that good breeding which he always evinced, except when, unfortunately, a controversial pen was in his hand.*

* The following occurs in a despatch of Wotton's, dated 23rd of December, 1553:—"I understand that it is taken here at the court that the emperor would not that the Cardinal Poole should go into England, fearing lest he would go about to let this marriage of the queen and the Prince of Spain. I understand, also, that Cardinal

Pole was a man of general principles, whereas a negotiator ought to be a man of detail; and Pole, as was usual in all his embassies, failed in his attempt to mediate between the French king and the emperor. In the war, or succession of wars, in which, to gratify the malignant or ambitious feelings of their sovereigns, but to the unmitigated misery of their subjects, Spain and France had been so long engaged, no campaign was more fierce and cruel than that which succeeded the vain attempt of Pole to effect a peace between the belligerent powers.

The legate was, however, at this time, dismissed by the French king with a profusion of compliments that, coming from royal lips, never meant much, and had scarcely any

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Poole had put these men in a good hope that the said marriage should take none effect, having certified the French king by the abbot whom he sent hither, that as for the queen's highness, he was as well assured of her mind concerning that marriage, as he was of her mind concerning matters of religion, and that that marriage should take no place: whose words these men trusted much unto." (Tytler, ii. 274.) But this was only court gossip, an exaggeration at most. We may compare this with a despatch from Morone, dated 3rd of October, and found among the State Papers. "Cardinal Pole, having been disappointed in his efforts to effect a civil peace between the emperor and the French king, as well as a spiritual one in England, seems to be out of comfort, and, despairing of the one if he sees shortly no likelihood of the other, begins to talk of returning to Italy. If he shall return without saving his country, like as he shall return a sorrowful man, so shall the realm have lost the fruition of such a one as for his wisdom, joined with learning, virtue, and godliness, all the world seeketh and adoreth. In whom it is to be thought that God hath chosen a special place of habitation, such is his conversation, adorned with infinite godly qualities, above the ordinary state of men; and whosoever within the realm liketh him worse, I would he might have with him the talk of one half-hour: it were a right stony heart that in a small time he could not soften. If it be his fortune to depart without showing the experience hereof in the realm, his going away shall be, in mine opinion, like the story of the Gospel of such as dwelt in *regione Gerasenorum*, who, upon a fond fear, desired Christ, offering Himself unto them, *ut discederet a finibus illorum*."

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meaning at all when coming from the lips of a Frenchman.

The cordiality of Pole's reception in France would, under any circumstances, have made the cardinal an unwelcome guest at Brussels; but it was the policy of the emperor to assume, on the present occasion, even a greater coldness than he really felt. Charles V. had been always interested in English politics; he understood the English character; he was kept well informed by his remarkably clever ambassador, Renard, of the state of feeling in England, the discontent of the people, and the division in the royal councils. The feelings of Renard towards Pole were anything but friendly. The ambassador cared little for religion, but much for the honour of his imperial master and his son. He did not sympathize with the Reformation, but in his perception of the impolicy of persecution he was in advance of his age. Charles V., under Renard's influence, would, if possible, have kept Pole out of England entirely; but if that could not be done, he was determined that Pole should not return to his country until the queen had been married to the Prince of Spain. Among the Simancas papers we find a letter, in which Pole had proposed himself as a suitor for the hand of Mary;* and though Pole, prematurely old, and in an infirm state of health, was not likely to be a formidable rival to the Prince of Spain, Charles did not see any advantage in sending him to act as the queen's counsellor pending the negotiations about the unpopular Spanish match. The enemies of Pole, besides accusing him of a culpable reticence, if not an implied sympathy, when the French courtiers denounced the Spanish match, went so far as to

* This fact is stated on the authority of Mr. Bergenroth, in a letter to Mr. Duffus Hardy.

represent him as favourable to a marriage between the queen and Courtenay, the young Earl of Devonshire ; for, at that time, an English sovereign did not dare to place foreign royalty above the English aristocracy ;—but, again after searching the public documents, I come to the conclusion, that this was an entirely gratuitous assertion, intended to alienate the emperor's mind from Pole, or to justify him in offering an impediment to his immediate return to England.

Pole may have occasionally spoken indiscreetly, and his friends in England regarded the Spanish match as an impolitic act ; but he does not appear to have opposed it openly ; and when he found that it was to be, he did what he could to further the wishes of the emperor upon the subject. When the match was determined upon, it was by expediting the marriage that he hastened his own return to his native land.

Full of pleasant anticipations of peace, the legate was hastening to Brussels, expecting to find the emperor as amenable as the king, when he received peremptory orders from the emperor to return to Dillingen, there to await the imperial pleasure.*

Reginald Pole had not, as on former occasions, aspired to a public situation. He might fairly say, that his honours had now been thrust upon him. Although by men who had lived to see threescore years and ten Cardinal Pole was regarded as a young man, yet he

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* In a letter from Wotton to the Queen, on the 27th of October, 1553, the writer affirms that Cardinal Pole was "in very good estimation with the emperor." It always appears that personally the emperor had a kindly feeling towards Pole. He understood his abilities, however, and Charles V. never permitted private feelings to interfere with political considerations. It was his policy now to make Pole stand in awe of him.

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himself had become conscious that, after a certain period of life, age, in its imbecility, depends not on years so much as upon constitution ; one man feeling like a young man at fourscore years of age, while to another his sixtieth birthday is the commencement of his decrepitude. Ill health, a life of struggle and uncertainty, and—what is more distressing—of continual 'self-assertion and disappointment, had told upon Pole's constitution.

He had an old man's longing for retirement and rest, and was, at the same time, conscious of a feebleness of body incapacitating him for the exertions which were now, by circumstances, forced upon him. He talked of retirement, of the comfort of devoting himself in obscurity to the discharge of the religious duties that, while employing the mind, refresh the weary spirit. If he was unconsciously insincere, his was an insincerity of which greater men than he have been guilty, in moments when they have been depressed by labour, or disappointed in their ambition. Like many others, Pole was awakened only to a consciousness of his self-deception when he was taken at his word. He received a notification from his friend Morone, that if he did really wish to retire, Julius III., ever desirous of meeting his inclinations, would appoint another legate to England. Pole, however, could not be almost within sight of his native land, which he passionately desired to revisit, and give up the daydream of his life, at the very moment when the object of his young ambition was within his grasp. The proposal infused at once a new life into his dormant spirit and exhausted frame ; and he was moved to indignant vigour when it was whispered into his ear, as a secret, that the offer of retirement was not the spontaneous suggestion of a considerate pope, but the result of a demand of the emperor as the price of his amity.

It was the opinion of Renard that Pole was unequal to the crisis. This feeling was shared by many in the queen's council, who, willing to obliterate the Reformation, felt that it was absolutely necessary to proceed with a discretion which Pole was not supposed to possess. The intrusion of a legate from Rome into a country where, for a quarter of a century, Rome, pope, and legate were words only uttered in execration, was certainly to be avoided if possible. Pole also had been, during this period, specially defamed in his native land; almost every despatch from foreign parts, during Henry's reign, spoke of him as the base enemy of his country; and, besides this, although the feelings belonging to the late civil wars had died out, there was no reason why the head of the house of York next to the occupant of the throne, should make his appearance in England, when dynastic questions had not been finally or decidedly settled. The queen alone desired Pole's return, but feared to press it, and consented to a delay. The enemies of the cardinal succeeded in damping her enthusiasm, by representing him to her as not friendly to the match on which her heart was fixed.

Other grounds of delay were now adduced, such as would protract debate as long as the emperor might be disposed to interpose obstructions.

Renard had impressed the emperor's mind with the importance of taking measures, that the present proprietors of confiscated church property should have their titles to the estates, whether purchased, won at the royal gaming table, given as the price of a pudding, or obtained as the reward for services rendered to the Somersets and Northumberlands, acknowledged and confirmed. The queen's council consisted of many men nearly or remotely interested in the question, while wiser and better men were aware, that too much land had been of late

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years tied up; so that, whether the late revolutionary proceedings could be defended or not, the measures, so far as property was concerned, must be regarded as final. To statesmen it was a question of political economy; and, though political economy had not, as yet, become a science, yet the principles upon which it is based were already known to the intuitions of the few men who deserved the name of statesmen.

The government of Julius III., and Reginald Pole himself, overjoyed at the thought of bringing the Church of England once more under the Roman obedience, appear to have wished to make the concession as complete and as comprehensive as possible.

But we must in justice bear in mind, that a serious difficulty presented itself to the counsellors of the pope, who regarded the question from the political rather than the religious stand-point. In permitting the lay impropiators of church property in England to retain their possessions, would not a precedent be established, calculated to awaken the cupidity of continental aristocrats, and lead eventually to a general confiscation, throughout the western world, of monastic property? * No one will deny, that the authorities at Rome were bound to take into consideration the possibility of such an occurrence. But, instead of opposing the difficulty openly, they had, as usual, recourse to subterfuges; and Charles V., well aware of the dishonesty of papal diplomacy, subjected every document he received to the microscopic glasses of his experienced lawyers, to whom the artifice of Rome soon became apparent. The fullest powers were, apparently, conceded to Pole, to make any and every concession to the demands of the English government, in favour of the lay impropiators, that the

* See Granvelle, *Papiers d'État*, iv. 283, 284.

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possessors of the confiscated property might require or demand;—but although expressed in various forms, there was the reservation of a power by which what Pole did in England might, if expedient, be cancelled at Rome. Charles insisted that the adjudication of the law should rest, not with the ecclesiastical authorities, but with the queen and king. Pole himself was made to see the difficulty, and to understand, that if the possessors of the confiscated property, however that property had been obtained, were secure of their wealth, other great and ecclesiastical difficulties might be easily overcome; and Pole sent his auditor, Nicolo Ormanetto, to Rome to argue the case. Pole's conduct was certainly, at this time, straightforward and considerate. He was not worldly wise, and he was of an enthusiastic temperament; and, as such, he was naturally thought scorn of by wily politicians whether in England or in Spain. But these wily politicians are often brought to bay by a straightforward opponent; attributing his straightforwardness to artifice, they suspect design where no design exists, and the simplicity they at one time despised, they now regard as a sign of ability, where ability they did not expect to find.

Pole's conduct made a favourable impression on the emperor's mind, who always liked the man, though he despised the politician. The legate understood clearly, that the advisers of the queen, not elected by herself, but forced upon her by circumstances, had no great principle to sustain them; that they would have preferred an order of things which would have enabled them to enrich themselves at the public expense; but that they would forego the chance of realizing future fortunes, if only they were secure of retaining what they had already appropriated. It would seem that Julius III., who supposed it to be his special vocation to bring England back to Rome,

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was willing to go quite as far, in this way of concession, as he could do without establishing an inconvenient precedent. When once the emperor was convinced of this, the powers conferred on the legate were tacitly accepted at Brussels. A doubt may, however, be entertained whether the papal briefs would not have been subjected again to an unfriendly scrutiny, if the experienced eye of the emperor had not already perceived a clearing of the political atmosphere in England, and the possibility of rendering the interests of the papacy subservient to the purposes of his own ambition. By supporting the papal cause in England, Charles hoped to save his son from some of the difficulties to which he had been himself exposed in Germany; but circumstances were such, that it was no longer possible to separate the papal cause from Pole; and this being the case, the object must now be, on the part both of the emperor and of his son, to conciliate the legate.

The altered state of things in England is to be attributed to the political sagacity and firmness of Gardyner. The emperor at first, with some reason, had a special dislike to Gardyner; but now, through an identification of their interests, Gardyner had become the firm friend both of Charles and of Philip. Whatever may be thought of the religious character of Gardyner, every one who is acquainted with the history of Mary's reign must admit his ability as a statesman.*

* The history of the reigns of Edward VI. and of Queen Mary remains to be written. The materials for such history, of which much use has been made in this chapter, are many of them at hand, and from the Venetian archives we may expect an increased supply. The Puritan by his hatred of Romanism, and the infidel by his detestation of Christianity, give only *ex parte* statements, and no one has ventured to refute them except Dr. Maitland.

Considering the expectations excited by his early career, we may not be able to exonerate Gardyner from a charge of inconsistency: in the practice of to-day he frequently gave the lie to principles he had yesterday enforced; but these are offences upon which, in the nineteenth century, a severe judgment will not be pronounced. If a man be not permitted to change his political opinions when he has arrived at years of discretion, he must be born a Solomon. We receive our political, like our religious principles, by tradition from our parents, and we afterwards make use of our reason in politics, and of Scripture in religion, to confirm, to modify, and sometimes to reject what we have received. The truth is, that a man is not blamed for the *fact* of his changing his opinions; but in judging of his character our inquiry is directed as to the *time* when the change has taken place. If he changes at a time when the change brings with it elevation in station, or pecuniary advantage, we then dismiss the offender as a time-server, as an unprincipled apostate. Gardyner was not a man of any elevation of character, and was regardless of the means to be adopted for the furtherance of his ends; but we only know of one occasion, when he sunk into conduct as despicable as it was ungenerous. On the accession of Mary, the question relating to her mother's divorce naturally engaged the public attention. In the furtherance of Henry VIII.'s views no one had been more zealous than Gardyner. It will be recollected that he took an active part in the cause, even after the offence he had taken on account of Dr. Cranmer's elevation to the primacy. His zeal had been such, that he had volunteered his presence when sentence was pronounced against the unfortunate mother of Mary. At Mary's accession, it was the interest of every one to keep the subject as much out of view as possible, for all

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the leading political characters had directly or indirectly, tacitly if not avowedly, been implicated in the affair. But it was impossible always to pass it by : in discussing the legitimacy of Mary, it was impossible to avoid an allusion to the divorce of Katharine ; and here it was that Gardyner's conduct was such as any high-minded man would have condemned. The documents relating to the divorce having been destroyed, Gardyner contrived to throw the entire blame on Cranmer. It was the interest of no one to convict Gardyner of falsehood, or to show how, by his presence at Dunstable, he had given that weight to Dr. Cranmer's judgment, which it might not otherwise have obtained. Such was the fact ; but if to the fact the queen shut her eyes, the courtiers were not likely to open theirs. Gardyner came before the queen as one who had suffered for the cause of religion. The sufferings, indeed, of a prisoner at large, such as Gardyner had been, were not severe ; but it is probable, that, in the difficulties to which she was herself exposed, Mary may have sought the advice in private of a prelate who, in the reign of her brother, had taken a decided line against Cranmer, and who by so doing had repudiated the principles through which he was, at one period, led to act with him. On the 3rd of August, 1553, when she visited the Tower, the queen released Gardyner from his imprisonment. On the 23rd of that month, the great seal was consigned to his custody, though the date of his patent as chancellor was delayed till the 21st of September. He officiated at the coronation on the 1st of October, and opened parliament four days afterwards. He became—if we may employ a modern term to express an ancient though scarcely acknowledged office—her prime minister. In former times, he would have been called her favourite, and even in the sixteenth century the designation was not

forgotten. We should have supposed that, when the minister had arrived at the age of three score years and ten, no scandal would have arisen when a maiden queen, no longer young, sought to be directed by his experience and wisdom; but, to their eternal disgrace, a scandal was raised by certain of the Protestant exiles, who gave out that the queen was *enceinte*, and that the father of the child was Gardyner. The atrocity of fanaticism on either side—Popish and Protestant—is such that the line must be clearly drawn between fanaticism and Christianity.

The object of Gardyner's ministry was to render secure the throne of Mary, which, from the commencement of her reign, was tottering on its base; and, knowing her prejudices, her obstinacy, and the violence of her temper, his constant endeavour was to render the indulgence of her feelings as little prejudicial to the public welfare as possible. He economised the public finances; as indeed he was obliged to do, for the late government had reduced the country almost to a state of bankruptcy. He was assisted by Spanish gold; this he applied not to his own advantage, but to the public expenditure. And he made the queen popular, by enabling her to remit to her people a subsidy voted in the preceding reign. When we compare Gardyner's conduct with the unprincipled cupidity of Edward's government, we must do honour to Gardyner's integrity, as well as to his wisdom as a statesman. Gardyner had another difficulty to overcome. He had been an advocate for the royal supremacy in King Henry's reign. His principles were directly antagonistic to those of Pole. Pole would have accepted Protestant doctrine with the papal supremacy; Gardyner, as a patriot, would maintain the royal supremacy, but conciliate Rome by the acceptance of all

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Romish doctrine. He would persuade the queen, if he could, to adopt the principles of her father ; but he knew that he had an opponent in Pole. He thought Pole a weak enthusiast ; and Pole regarded him as a wily and unprincipled worldling. But when he found Pole too strong for him, Gardynier ignored all his past sayings and doings, and became Pole's close ally : he effected his return to England, when he thought the proper time had come, and, while really controlling him, he appeared to be acting under him. His object was to prevent another revolution, which would have inevitably followed an attempt on the part of the pope to reclaim the abbey lands. Gardynier therefore co-operated with Renard and the emperor, or rather induced them to co-operate with him, in resisting the papal claims, until that point was conceded. He could vindicate his consistency, to those who were willing to be persuaded, by asserting that his aim had ever been, not to annihilate the papal power, but to uphold the co-ordinate jurisdiction of the *régale*. This object, so far as he desired its accomplishment, he attained. He compelled Rome to make the concession ; and then Pole was his friend, to whom he was willing to yield precedence. His conduct with respect to the Spanish match was precisely similar. Like every honest Englishman, he was vehemently opposed to it. His regard for his country would have made him, under any circumstances, oppose Philip's desire to obtain the queen for his bride. So again, regarding "Madame Elizabeth," as Renard calls her, as a rival to Mary, he was not at first friendly to the princess ; but he was afterwards disposed to be a true friend,* though a display of friendship would have been

* There can be little doubt that, after the detection of Wyatt's plot, Elizabeth was indebted for her safety to Gardynier. See Tytler, ii. 339.

attended with danger both to himself and the princess in Mary's court. When Gardynier perceived, however, that the queen was determined to wed the Prince of Spain, his opposition to the match was withdrawn; and he devoted the whole force of his mind to mitigate the evil consequences of an impolitic but inevitable act. The emperor had at first viewed him as an enemy, but he found him at length to be a faithful supporter; although the restrictions to which he subjected the Spaniard proved Gardynier to be a patriot. Mary, impatient for the marriage, could be prevailed upon to yield everything that tended to remove the impediments to the object of her wishes; and the stipulations were so stringent that we are astonished at their acceptance on the part of the emperor; until we find, in one of Renard's despatches, a suggestion that, when once Philip had received the crown matrimonial, he would be able, by an exertion of the royal prerogative, to overthrow what was only conceded for the sake of peace.

In parliament, Gardynier proceeded with equal caution. He resorted to frequent prorogations or dissolutions: in both houses, having the command of Spanish gold, he made no secret of his readiness to satisfy all who were willing to be bribed; and the number of those who accepted donations in gold or jewels was so large, that to the acceptance of a bribe scarcely any disgrace was attached. Even in the queen's presence he offered pensions to compliant counsellors, on behalf of the Spaniard. One thing appears to his credit, from the correspondence of Renard, as revealed in the State Papers. Renard, though opposed to persecution for religious opinion, for which he cared little, was bloodthirsty in reference to political offenders. His letters abound with abuse of Gardynier for his leniency; and he is especially severe

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upon him for not bringing Courtenay and "Madame Elizabeth" to the block. Those who follow Foxe, in his usual persecution of Gardyner, should read this correspondence, to see that, although legal murders were many, they would have been quadrupled if Gardyner had not been on the side of mercy.*

Gardyner's chief business was to extricate himself and the country from difficulties in which it had been involved by the perverseness of the sovereigns and the lawlessness of the people. It redounds to his credit that, in the midst of all this complication of affairs, he could give time and thought to a work that might be delayed by a mere time-server, but which a wise statesman perceived

* We may refer to Renard's despatches *passim*. "When the queen had given orders for executions, probably at Renard's suggestion, Gardyner delayed." (Tytler, ii. 339.) Again, in express terms: "The chancellor has been extremely remiss in proceeding against them." (Ibid. 346.) It may be concluded that, during the years 1553 and 1554, when Gardyner was in the zenith of his power, not one person was burned, and in the last year of his life there were fewer burned than at any other period of the reign. It is difficult to understand why Foxe and his followers should have singled out Gardyner as the foremost among the persecutors; that he should have burned men for their religion is a sad but indisputable fact; but so did Cranmer, Ridley, Calvin, and others whom Foxe admires. The acceptance or rejection of transubstantiation had now become the test of Popery or Protestantism. Illiterate men, who could not discuss a metaphysical nicety, would die rather than express a belief in transubstantiation, under the notion that they suffered in the cause of Protestantism. It was not by Gardyner, but by a layman, the Marquis of Winchester, who held the great seal for Gardyner when the chancellor himself was abroad, that writs were issued for the burning of heretics, as may be seen in Burnet, Strype, and Hallam. When Gardyner returned, he condemned the conduct of his *locum tenens*, and refused to obey orders for the persecution of heretics in his diocese. When the report was credited that the queen was *enceinte*, Gardyner persuaded her to set at liberty several political offenders then confined in the Tower, and himself conveyed the news. Among the prisoners was the Archbishop of York.—Stowe, 626.

to be absolutely necessary for the restoration of our commerce, and to re-establish the national credit. The money had been shamefully debased in the late reign, and one of the first measures adopted by Gardyner was the issue of a new coinage.*

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We gather from the State Papers now open to inspection, that Gardyner was, all this time, pursued by an opposition, if not bitter, yet continuous ; and, as regards some statesmen, there was party combination. He was distrusted by the extreme Papists, hated by the Protestants, and not loved by the queen he faithfully served ; for she suspected the laxity of his religious principles, though she was wise enough to honour his political integrity. On the one side, the Spanish ambassador, who, during the progress of the Spanish match, had gained influence over Mary's mind—and, on the other side, the clever French minister and the Italian envoy, had manœuvred against him. The cabinet counsellors were united only in their opposition to him ; and they opposed him generally, it is to be feared, from interested motives, some from a personal

* The reader may be interested, and may hereafter find it useful to be made acquainted with this coinage. Orders were given that in the Royal Mint, as well of silver in fineness of the standard sterling, as also of gold, should be issued, "the whole sovereign, of fine gold, to be current for xxx. shillings ; the half-sovereign, of fine gold, to be called the *Royal* of gold, for xv. shillings ; the angel, of fine gold, current for x. shillings ; the half-angel, of fine gold, for v. shillings. And of coins of silver : one piece of silver monies, which should be called the *Groat*, to be current for four pence of the lawful monies of England ; another piece, to be called the *Half-groat*, to be current for two pence ; another piece, half of the half-groat, which should be called the *Penny*, to be current for one penny. All which monies aforesaid the queen straitly charged and commanded all manner of persons within her realms—the realm of Ireland only excepted, forasmuch as her coins there had a special standard—to receive and pay the said several pieces of money at the several rates before rehearsed."

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antipathy.* All these difficulties he gradually overcame ; and when Philip arrived in England, the young prince felt the same confidence in Gardynere as had been reposed in him by the queen. Even Renard, who always hated him, was obliged at last to succumb. Gardynere had indeed so far mollified his enemies in the council, that we shall find even Paget hereafter acting in subservience to him. The merits of the chancellor had been recognised by the emperor, who was greatly astonished when he discovered that Gardynere had effected, through the intervention of parliament, what Charles expected to accomplish only through an exercise of the prerogative, backed as it might be by the intervention of a Spanish force.

The emperor had advanced money most liberally, and, so far as the chancellor was concerned, it had been spent with great judgment. It was used freely, not only to win the courtiers to a subserviency to the queen's council, but also to sway the elections and to obtain a parliament, if not prepared exactly to receive the chancellor's orders, yet so well under command, as not to oppose his policy. In one of his despatches, Simon Renard remarks, "that having gained the principals by pensions and gifts, we need have no fear of the common people. They are generally disposed to be quiet, though their passions may be inflamed to madness by an aristocratic demagogue."

* Renard, in a despatch to the emperor, in March, 1553, says that the Chancellor, Arundel, the Bishop of Norwich, Paget, the Controller, and Petre, had bound themselves by oath to fraternity, loyalty, and diligence. They were induced to act thus from the disturbed state of the country. Gardynere may, in modern language, be regarded as having formed a ministry consisting of the persons now mentioned—the first instance, I believe, in our history. In another despatch, a month later, he refers to the reconciliation of Gardynere and Paget, who were acting together.

Gardynner was not unmindful of the people, or of the power of the press. The people had been taught to argue thus : " If the reformers were God's children, surely God would bless and prosper them ; but now, instead of that, there is no doctrine so much hated as theirs, no people so much persecuted as they—therefore it cannot be of God. This is of God which our queen and the old bishops have professed ; for now hath God prospered and kept them. What a notable victory hath God given to her."*

When we read the despatches of Renard, censuring and carping at Gardynner's proceedings, and attributing wrong motives to conduct for which he would not account, and when we see Gardynner, without condescending to reply, pursuing his own course, we must regard the latter as no inconsiderable statesman. However much we may lament the result of his exertions, the end he aimed at he attained. He watched his time, and when the time arrived, he introduced and carried a bill which replaced the Church of England in the position it occupied in the last year of the reign of King Henry VIII. In a single act, says Strype, " he cut off and repealed at a clap no less than nine acts of parliament, made under King Edward VI., all relating to the Reformation."† The royal supremacy was not repealed, nor any step taken for reconciliation

* We have only to look to the management of a neighbouring nation to understand how it might be possible in the sixteenth century, before the authority of parliament was fully established, to control the election of that assembly. Doubts were at one time entertained as to the bribery at this time employed ; but the despatches of Renard have removed any doubt that may have existed on the subject. Renard consulted the queen herself as to the distribution of pensions among her subjects. He speaks, on another occasion, of having spent five thousand crowns in gold chains, and a thousand in money, among the courtiers.

† See Strype, *Memorials*, iii. pt. i. 83.

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with Rome : this was to be the work of the legate, with whom Gardyner was now in friendly correspondence. The “ wily ” politician, as his enemies called him, did not apply for a reversal of Pole’s attainder. He knew that this could be obtained at any time ; and he determined to keep the power in his own hands to the last. He would not permit Pole to assume the legatine power in England, until he was quite certain that the peace of the country would not be disturbed by an attempt to effect a resumption of the abbey lands.

The emperor was now in a condition to accord to Pole a friendly reception.

The cardinal had remained chiefly at Dillingen ; sorely tried and not very fairly treated, but, on the whole, conducting himself with dignity, propriety, and tact. That he felt, like every Englishman, opposed to the Spanish match, when first it was on the tapis, there is not any room to doubt ; but I do not call to mind any letters or other documents to show that he displayed anything but an acquiescent spirit when he was aware that the queen had made up her mind on the subject. In nothing was the determined character of Mary more powerfully displayed, than in her conduct in what related to the Spanish match. She willed it. The whole country opposed it ; even rose in rebellion against it. Her ministers were, both on principle and also through their fears, hostile to it ; but when it was determined upon, the country was brought to submission, and received the Spanish prince with courtesy. The ministers were employed in rendering the ceremonial as splendid as possible ; and certainly both the queen and her husband had the wisdom to forget the opposition to it. From this period, Pole and Gardyner were united in feeling and in conduct. When they met, they met as friends.

Pole was now in a condition to signify to the emperor, through the Bishop of Arras, that all he demanded of Rome was conceded. This was not accurately true, as the pope reserved the right of granting a dispensation. But the pacified emperor ceased to contend.

The emperor was at Valenciennes with his troops, whither Ormanetto was despatched to request permission for the legate to proceed at once to England. The emperor signified to Pole's minister that he would ascertain the wishes of the King and Queen of England on the subject; for they all of them had a common interest in all that related to the affair.

Although the English government had consented to Pole's return, yet there was some anxiety felt as to the kind of reception he was likely to receive from the people. It was suggested—and Pole at once acquiesced in the proposal—that he should not assume the pomp and parade of a legate. He was to appear as an English nobleman, nearly related to the royal family, and a Roman cardinal, revisiting his native land after long exile. He was thus able to appeal to the generosity of his countrymen, without appearing to defy the law.

Pole was gratified by receiving from Philip an official notification of his marriage; and he sent in reply a tender of the allegiance he vowed to pay to Philip as his king. The legate, so lately treated almost with contempt, received now every mark of respect, and the king's confessor was directed to consult him.*

On the return of the emperor to Brussels, Pole received an invitation to meet him at that capital, in order that they might confer together on English affairs. In a letter to Julius III., Pole informs his holiness, that he was

* Quirini, iv. 166.

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admitted to converse with the emperor on familiar terms. The emperor seems to have entered into explanations, with the view of apologising for the impediments he had offered to Pole's return to England; and Pole, though slow to comprehend a political difficulty, appears to have understood the real state of the case. The emperor was willing that he should return, but not till all impediments to the marriage should have been removed; and after the marriage, not till it was ascertained that the return of Pole would not interfere with the popularity of Philip, when for popularity Philip was bending his proud head as low as the innate haughtiness of his temper would permit.

Several letters, at this time, passed between Philip and the cardinal. They most of them contain only the ordinary compliments; but there is one which is remarkable for the mixture of sarcasm and humour which, we are told, pervaded Pole's conversation, but which, for the most part, we search for in vain in his writings.*

It is just a year, he says, since he knocked at the door of Philip's house. If Philip were to say, Who's there? the answer might be, One who for twenty years had been exiled from his home and country, to prevent her from being excluded from her home, whose home is now shared by Philip. If as such a one he were to demand admittance, he might expect the door to be opened to him. But it was not as a private man that he stood there: he was knocking as the representative of the successor of

* Quirini, iv. 162. Considering the time when the letter was written, I regard it as a piece of pleasantry, though mildly sarcastic. It was now determined that Pole should return to England, but there was no eagerness displayed about his reception. The fact has been stated above. The government was anxious lest the people should resent the insult.

St. Peter; yet, strange to say, while the ambassadors from every other realm are freely admitted, the ambassador of the first among the kings and pastors upon earth is waiting still at the outside. Nay, he might represent himself as the ambassador of St. Peter himself; yes, Peter himself is knocking, knocking at Mary's house, and Mary, all the while, has not caused the door to be opened to Peter. There was a time, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, when Peter, having escaped the violence of Herod, knocked at Mary's door. When he knocked, and when Rhoda knew who it was that knocked, she did not indeed immediately open the door, she was so overwhelmed with joy that for a short season she left Peter outside, in order that she might bring the joyful news to Mary; then Mary came, and disregarding the dangers, though Herod was still alive, she, and all with her, opened the door, full of admiration at the Divine power by which Peter had been rescued. What hinders the royal Mary from acting in this manner? She rejoices in knowing that Peter is rescued from Herod; but she fears—but why should she fear when Herod is now dead? She was permitted for a time to fear, because, in the councils of God, it was determined that the chosen son of the Church, her husband, should share with her the joy of opening. He then calls upon Philip to inspire her with confidence, that her perfect love might cast out fear, for—rising to a higher climax—he remarks that it is not merely Peter, it is Christ Himself who knocks. Christ, he said, stood without, until she who is styled the Defender of the Faith shall, in the person of Pole, admit the Author and Finisher of Faith, for rejecting whom the king and queen would both be called to a fearful account.

I have abridged a letter in which a good idea is spoilt by Pole's usual fault of diffuseness; but I have noticed it,

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as it conveys the impression upon Pole's mind, which is expressed or implied in many of his letters. If Mary had been influenced by other than a worldly passion and policy, she would not permit religion to be insulted by not at once welcoming him to England. When she triumphed over the enemies of her crown, Pole expected to be summoned, as her friend, her kinsman, and the representative of the pope, to participate in her triumph, and to direct her counsels. We trace throughout his correspondence a soreness on the part of Pole on this point; and because it was supposed that he would be as bitter against the enemies of his religion as Renard was against his political opponents, the imperial ambassador was, for a time, resolutely opposed to Pole's return.

But all difficulties had now been surmounted, and Renard himself appeared at Brussels to confer with the emperor and the legate. The time had arrived when Gardyner signified his intention of moving in parliament the repeal of Pole's attainder.

Cardinal Pole was invited to Brussels. Nor had he now any reason to complain of want of courtesy in his reception on the part of the emperor. He appeared at court in an infirm state of health, not equal to much fatigue. His broad face, which at one time expressed the haughtiness of a Plantagenet, and the self-assertion of one whose claim to royalty was rather affirmed by his friends than universally recognised, was more elongated, and wore an expression of severity. His eyes, which could at one time flash fire as he denounced the iniquities of Henry VIII., had now an expression of gentleness. His beard, still brown, flowed curling down upon his chest; while his attenuated form lent height to one who is described as a man of middle stature.

Renard condescended, by King Philip's command, to

lay before Pole an apologetic document stating at length the difficulties that had impeded his return hitherto to England, and to state the course which it would be prudent to pursue on his arrival at Dover. Mason, the English ambassador to Charles, adopting the tone of the courtiers of the imperial palace, said, with reference to Pole, that it was a loss to his country to be deprived of the counsels of a man who, for his wisdom, learning, and eminent piety, was sought and revered by every one who had the honour of his acquaintance.*

The English ambassador requested, on the 8th of November, 1554, an interview with the cardinal. He now announced to him officially, that certain commissioners had been appointed by the King and Queen of England to escort Pole into their presence. The cardinal expressed his pleasure at the approaching termination of his anxieties; but politically remarked, that the time and conditions of his departure depended upon the will of the emperor. To the emperor Sir John Mason, therefore, repaired, and an interview with his majesty was appointed at three o'clock in the afternoon. Repairing to the court at the hour named, he found the emperor sitting at a table, very cheerful and looking well; his complexion was restored, and the gout had left his limbs. He expressed himself as delighted with the news from England, and gave permission to the cardinal to start immediately. Mason, returning to Pole, was informed of his readiness to commence his journey on the following Tuesday or Wednesday; though the state of his health was such, that he could only proceed by slow stages, and it would take

* In a despatch in 1550, Mason described Pole as "that unnatural man;" and some writers accuse him of being a time-server. Such, to a certain extent, as with contemporary statesmen, may have been true, but between 1550 and 1554 a man had time to change his opinions.

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six or seven days to pass from Brussels to Calais. Mason, writing to the king and queen, expressed a hope that he might reach London on the 26th or 27th. He informed Pole that the king and queen were desirous, that no delay should intervene ; and added, that he might start without waiting for the commissioners, who would meet him on the way.*

The commissioners, however, reached Brussels on the 13th of November, before Pole had commenced his journey. It was notified to the emperor and to the cardinal, that parliament had consented to Pole's return, on the full understanding that the impropiators of the abbey lands should not be disturbed in the possession of their wealth, however obtained ; and it was to be observed, that, although Mary and a great many others would accept him as a legate a latere, yet at present, till he himself should witness the state of the country, she thought it expedient for him to enter the country simply as a cardinal and an ambassador.†

The commission consisted of forty persons. At their head was the Lord Paget, Sir Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse, the nearest relative of Pole, being husband to his niece ; and, in some subordinate capacity, Sir William Cecil, the future minister of Queen Elizabeth, to whose services, as a reformer, the Church was afterwards deeply indebted.‡

The appearance of Cecil as a minister of Mary, appointed to do homage for the queen and her husband to Cardinal Pole, is perplexing to those who apply to the occurrences of the sixteenth century the principles to

* State Papers.

† Minutes of Instructions given to Lord Paget and the Master of the Horse.—Tytler, ii. 445.

‡ Tytler, ii. 447.

which the mind has been narrowed in the nineteenth. Cecil was not now, and indeed he never did become, a Protestant in the sense in which that term is now employed to designate any antipapist. In the sixteenth century, the term Protestant was equivalent to that of Lutheran, and the Protestants, then as now, believing in the doctrines of consubstantiation, displayed on the altars not merely a cross, but a crucifix. The title of "the Reformed" was applied to the followers of Calvin and Zuinglius, and of that class of Augustinians and Predestinarians which has in many instances developed itself into Socinianism. Now to none of those classes had Cecil sent in his adhesion.*

In the time of Henry VIII., the Zuinglian and Calvinistic doctrine, as opposed to Protestantism or Lutheranism, had scarcely an existence; and though the works

* It may be surmised of Cecil, from his own pen, that with the government of Edward VI. he had no sympathy. He no doubt favoured their reformation at first, but soon perceived that the government must be overthrown, through the extreme selfishness of its members; and he wished to quit his employment under the government if he could do so with safety. On the death of Edward VI., he wrote in his diary as follows: "7. Julii, libertatis adeptus sum morte regis, ex misero aulico factus liber et mei juris." He did not obtain his liberty so soon as he expected. He was forced to act a subordinate part under the government of the Lady Jane; but this astute politician perceived that the attempted revolution must fail, and to no one was Mary more indebted than to Cecil. He was, though in a subordinate capacity, a prime agent in the reaction in Mary's favour, by counteracting secretly all the machinations of Northumberland. This is well stated by Tytler (ii. 205), who expresses his indignation at Cecil's successful craft and disingenuity. I doubt whether he was more crafty or disingenuous than other politicians and diplomatists. He evidently saw, that the violence of Mary's government would lead to another revolution, and throughout her reign he kept himself in the background; and, as his proclivities towards a reformation were known, he was never a favourite with his ungrateful mistress. Paget was one of the most unprincipled and unscrupulous politicians of the day. If the reader would know his character, he is referred to Maitland, xvi. Essay.

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of Luther were read more generally, perhaps, than the government was aware of, yet the *Regis Angliæ Assertio septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum* was

“A scarecrow set to frighten fools away.”

The country was, as had been the case for several preceding centuries, vehemently antipapal; but the reader will never understand the position of affairs unless he constantly bears in mind, that to be opposed to the Bishop of Rome was no proof that the antipapist was a Protestant, that is, an adherent to the system of Luther; or one of the Reformed, that is, an adherent to the system of Calvin. Neither Luther nor Calvin had as yet established an historical name. They were merely leaders of two great parties—parties in foreign countries, and with a comparatively small following in England. Among these were some persons eminent for their learning, and who, in any reactionary movement, could not, consistently with their religious principles or their honour, have remained quiescent. They most of them took alarm when Mary succeeded to the throne, and, as we have before remarked, the government—not anxious at first to persecute if milder means for the repression of heresy could be adopted—facilitated their emigration. They formed, in a few cities on the Continent, small congregations, the majority of them being—under foreign influence—hostile to the Reformation of Henry and not ardent in their support of the system of reform adopted by Edward VI. Some were detained in England, either from want of means to emigrate, or bound to remain by domestic obligations and ties; and from these the future martyrs were to be selected. The great bulk of the people—and among them may be mentioned emphatically Cecil, and she who was hereafter to be his sovereign, the Princess Elizabeth—be-

longed neither to the Lutherans nor to the Calvinists, neither to the Protestants nor to the Reformed. They may have read their writings, and, more or less, they may have admired or condemned them; but those writers had in England no authority. Among the statesmen there were two parties—the one party, headed by Gardynier, wished to bring things back to the position in which they had been left by Henry VIII.; the other party was not desirous of establishing either Protestantism or Calvinism, but of carrying on the work of reformation in the old Catholic Church which had come down to them as an inheritance from their forefathers. They were most of them alarmed by the excesses of King Edward's reign; and being unprepared at present with any system of reform devised by themselves, they were ready to listen with complacency to any suggestions that might be offered to the queen's council. There was nothing inconsistent in the conduct of these men, when they went to a certain extent with the reformers of Edward VI.'s reign; or when, having become alarmed at measures calculated not to reform but to destroy the Church, they accepted, as a precautionary measure, the reaction of Queen Mary; or when, having revolted from the reaction which was dragging us back into the papacy, they were prepared to tread the *via media*, marked out in the wise counsels of Elizabeth. The Reformation, at the present time, was tentative.

The question immediately before us is, What were the feelings of these men (as we infer them from their conduct) with reference to Cardinal Pole? The feeling of the country, though softened, was still unfriendly to Pole. Notwithstanding his protestations to the contrary, he was regarded by many as having acted as a traitor to his country, when he endeavoured to excite the continental powers to make war upon Henry VIII. As a traitor he

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had been attained; and the position he now held in the Roman Church seemed to disqualify him for holding office in a Church which had thrown off all allegiance to the Roman see. On the other hand, the statesmen were aware, that the queen had determined upon his return to England. With her it was only a question of time. It was also clear that, when he was in England, he would soon be her chief adviser in the closet, if not in the council chamber. Party government was now commencing in England; and neither party could hope for power if it remained hostile to Pole's return. We are not, therefore, surprised to find both parties—the party headed by Gardynier, and the party headed by Paget—accepting Pole, and making that acceptance—an unwilling acceptance on both sides—a temporary bond of union. Gardynier sent a commission to invite Pole to England; and of the commissioners Paget was one. To counterbalance the acknowledged advantages of monarchical government, we have to lament that public interests are sometimes sacrificed to the perverseness, caprice, or malignity of an individual.

There were circumstances which, when once the concession was made, recommended Pole to the notice of all parties in the state. On one point the whole country was resolved, that there should be no resumption of the abbey lands; that the estates alienated from the monasteries should remain in the hands of those who had purchased them, or to whom, under any circumstances, they had been consigned. Whatever may have been their private opinion or judgment, both Mary and Philip perceived that the dynasty would be in danger, if Pole returned to England without a concession being made on this point by the authorities at Rome. At Rome itself, this fact, though with difficulty, had been impressed on the papal mind.

The only object at Rome was, so to word the concession as to render an evasion of the stipulation possible at some future time; the possibility of which did not escape the keen eye of the emperor. The concession, however, was made: the principle which permitted the alienation of ecclesiastical property was tacitly established. If Reginald Pole was powerful enough at Rome to effect this concession, regarded by the former statesmen in England as an insuperable barrier to any reconciliation with Rome, it was surmised that, by the same powerful cardinal, the concession of other principles asserted in the reign of Henry VIII. might be wrested from the papal chair. Hence a reaction in favour of Pole was now commencing. Although England was opposed to papal supremacy, the opinion was gaining ground, that a centre of union, which had been sought for in vain among the German Protestants, might, notwithstanding all that had occurred, be found in Rome. The trial, at all events, might be fairly made. It was assumed that Pole was less addicted to the papacy than he really was, and therefore he appeared to be the very man whom England required, to mediate between the Queen of England and the pope. It was not forgotten that Pole had been, for many years, at the head of the Reformation party in Italy; that he held the great doctrine of justification by faith only as strongly as Luther himself; that he had been accused of Lutheranizing, and at Viterbo, of refusing to persecute; and that he had himself been subjected to some measure of persecution. Then, again, it was remembered, that he was a Plantagenet; and although the generation was passing away when such a circumstance would have great weight with the rising politicians of the day, it had a certain amount of influence on the public mind. He was a favourite with the queen; at one time,

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it was supposed, a lover. It was supposed, moreover, that he, being an Englishman, would act as a counterpoise to the Spaniard, by whom an attempt might be made to bias the mind of Mary, and to render the English interests subordinate to the ambition of Spain.

All these circumstances will enable us to understand the change of feeling and opinion now taking place towards Pole in the higher classes of society. The attentive reader of the State Papers will be amused by seeing the gradual progress of diplomatic opinion in this direction. A few years before, such statesmen as Sir John Mason could not find words sufficiently strong to denounce the character of Pole, intellectually and morally; whereas now his praises of the cardinal are hyperbolical. It is easy to attribute this to a coarse, vulgar desire to win favour with Queen Mary; but we shall be more near the truth if, without ignoring the policy of a courtier on the part of Mason, we attribute his change of opinion not a little, also, to a change in the political atmosphere.

But when, in the higher ranks, all things were made ready for a respectful, if not a cordial, reception of Pole, fears were still entertained whether the commonalty, to whose ignorant passions Crumwell had appealed, would tolerate the advent of one who, it was suspected, came charged with a mission from the pope. Much anxiety was felt by the government on this point. Philip sent an autograph letter to Pole, reiterating the advice already given, that he should not assume the legatine badges, but appear in England simply as a member of the royal family, permitted to revisit his native land. The reiteration of the advice may convince us, that the cardinal had not received it graciously when first it was proposed. But Pole, always afraid of assassination, was not likely really to act contrary to the directions of the court. The tide,

however, had imperceptibly turned. The English commissioners reported to their government the enthusiasm which the presence of Pole excited in Flanders and as he passed through the Low Countries; where, by a people whose commercial interests were identified with those of England, he was regarded as a harbinger of peace.

On the 12th of November, the cardinal waited upon the emperor to take a formal farewell. They parted as friends.*

At length the day dawned to which, through a long vista of years, the eye of Pole had been directed. It was to be the commencement of his happiness as a man, his triumph as a patriot, the festival on which all his self-denials, as a man of religion, would receive their reward. It came; but in the invalid, bowed down by infirmities, broken in spirit as in health, the fire of enthusiasm had ceased to blaze. What had been anticipated as an unclouded pleasure was now undertaken as a toil. Instead of *rejoicing*, he only felt that he *ought* to rejoice; he was grateful on *principle* rather than from *passion*. How often we find the grave open upon the worldling, at

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* Mason, in writing to the king and queen, says, "The cardinal will be ready to leave on Tuesday, or Wednesday at farthest. Between this and Calais, he must make at the least six days, and peradventure seven, the constitution of his body being so easy to be overthrown as a little travel taken more than it be able to bear were enough to lay him up, and therefore he useth most to be carried in his journeys in a litter. He will probably arrive about the 24th or 26th of this month." I have traced this portion of Pole's history through the State Papers, and the *Descriptio Reductionis Angliæ*, in the fifth volume of Poli Epistolæ. Although Quirini lived only to complete the first four volumes, he left materials for the fifth, which was duly published. In the appendix we have the *Descriptio* here mentioned. It was written by Bernardi, or Floribello, or Stella, or by some other member of the cardinal's suite. It gives an account of Pole's proceedings from the 13th of November, until the state dinner at the Lord Mayor's.

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the very moment, when the object of his labours, perhaps of his crimes, seems to be within his grasp !

Pole started for England. The world was hailing the successful statesman ; his physicians were with anxiety counting the throbbings of his feeble pulse. He came, he triumphed, he died.

Paget and Hastings, having, for a long season, opposed the wishes of the queen, were now all eagerness to make up for the past, by the zeal they evinced in doing all honour to her majesty's returning relative. On the day appointed for the commencement of the journey, a cavalcade was formed ; and in the court of the house in which Pole had slept that night, ecclesiastical ceremonial mixed with military pomp. At the sound of the trumpet, a hundred and twenty cavaliers sprang to horse.

All eyes were strained to catch a glimpse of Pole. They seemed to say—

Look where the holy legate comes apace,
To give us warrant from the hand of Heaven,
And on our actions set the name of right
With holy breath.

But there came forth a feeble old man, who might have responded—

Ah me ! this tyrant fever burns me up,
And will not let me welcome this good news.
Set on towards Calais,—to my litter straight !
Weakness possesseth me, and I am faint.

To his litter he was lifted by his servants, and he could only support a journey of two miles. He passed the night at an abbey in the vicinity of Brussels, to which he had been accustomed to repair for country air and repose. He was sufficiently recovered, however, the next day, to

resume his journey, amidst the acclamations of the people ; but his journeys were short. The second night he passed at Dendermonde or Termonde. On Thursday he reached the picturesque old town of Ghent. From Ghent he went to Bruges. On Saturday he was at Nieuport. On Sunday he arrived at Dunkirk.

On the 19th, the cardinal reached Gravelines. On a state barge, in the centre of the stream which marked the boundary of the English pale, appeared Lord Wentworth, attended by the officers of his staff. He escorted the cardinal into Calais. At Calais, to the great satisfaction of the English commissioners, the cardinal was received with shouts of welcome ; they could not doubt, but that those English shouts would meet with an echo on the opposite coast. The bells of the churches, with a merry peal, announced the cardinal's arrival, and preparations were made to light the bonfires which blazed in every vacant space in the illuminated town. The *Te Deum* was heard in every church ; and the whole population was keeping festival. It may be difficult to kindle an enthusiasm, but when once kindled it soon rises into a flame.

The Italians were whispering of a miracle. During the whole of the preceding week, the weather had been stormy, and the wind was unfavourable ; now all was calm, except a gentle breeze, which had been sent, it was said, to waft the cardinal to his hitherto ungrateful country. Even Paget and the cooler heads, inclined to scepticism, and not on that account more likely to be free from superstition, regarded the change in the weather as a favourable omen.

Be that as it may, it is an historical and recorded fact, that the morning of the 20th of November dawned bright and calm on Calais ; and on that day Reginald Pole ascended the sides of a royal vessel expressly chartered to take him

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to England. He embarked amidst the roar of cannon from the English fortresses of Calais, and from the ten ships of war which were preparing to escort him to the opposite coast. The distant shouts died away, and the ripple on the waves invited to meditation all, except those in whom—however slight the undulation may have seemed to experienced sailors—physical reasons existed to render meditation utterly impossible.

On the evening of the same day, the 20th of November, Cardinal Pole, leaning on the arm of Priuli and attended by the royal commissioners, disembarked at Dover. From the fatigue under which he was sinking, he was the more willing to observe strictly the injunction, that he should not land in the array of a Roman legate. His position was the more delicate because, though it was certain his attainder would be reversed, some routine forms had not been completed, and legally therefore he was still an outlaw. Gardyner had been careful to keep the power in his own hands, but the reaction had already commenced. The mayor and corporation of Dover thought to please the queen by the proffer of hospitality to her kinsman; but Pole, with proper regard to the stringency of the royal command, determined to pass the night, with his suite, at the priory of St. Martin.*

It was perhaps well for Pole, that the passage from

* When the expression of public feeling is described, it frequently happens, that the accounts given are at variance with each other. In the minds of those who had entertained fears that the reception of Pole would be unfriendly, a few cheers would be regarded as indicative of an enthusiastic welcome, while to hostile ears those few cheers would sound as nothing. We shall not be far from the truth, if we believe, that there was no enthusiasm manifested on this occasion; but that the few, comparatively speaking, who witnessed the disembarkation, evinced the goodwill which is generally displayed on the arrival of a distinguished visitor.

Calais to Dover had been more expeditious than had been expected; and that the formalities designed by the court for his arrival were delayed until the following morning, by the non-appearance of the noble lord and learned prelate who had been appointed to convey to him the felicitations of the queen and king.

He was at breakfast on the 21st, in doubt how to proceed or act, when trumpets were heard at a distance, and presently the court below his window was filled by a troop of horse in all their gallantry. This was a guard of honour attendant upon his once honoured friend the Bishop of Ely, and the Lord Montague.* They were the bearers of a congratulatory letter from the queen, to which an autograph postscript was added by King Philip.

The appearance of a hundred well-appointed horsemen caused no little stir in a small country town, such as Dover then was. The neighbouring gentry were attracted by curiosity, and they came attended by others who had submitted to the late Reformation, but never loved it; and by others, again, who were prepared to hail the advent of one who came, it was said, as the harbinger of peace. Excitement was gradually and quickly rising to enthusiasm, when, at the head of fifty horsemen, appeared a

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* The Lord Montague here mentioned was not, as some writers have supposed, a nephew of the cardinal, for his brother Henry, who had obtained the barony of Montague, was attainted and executed in 1539, dying *s. p.* The personage here alluded to was Sir Anthony Browne, who in 1554 was created Viscount Montague, and who was afterwards a K.G. This title was not extinct till the year 1593. Cf. Nicolas (p. 327), and Ridley (p. 254), who adds some particulars, showing that the Poles and the Brownes claimed their title from a common ancestor. The Bishop of Ely was at this time Dr. Thirlby, one of those who, like Pole himself, favoured a reformation, but revolted from the kind of reformation suggested by Cranmer, Henry VIII., and divines of that school, to which the Church of England was eventually so much indebted.

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personage whose splendid equipments and noble bearing had its effect upon the increasing mob—the Earl of Huntingdon's eldest son, Lord Hastings.* When a multitude is once assembled, it is more easy to excite, than to direct or to control their enthusiasm. So, on this occasion, if any one had shouted, “Down with the cardinal!” Pole might have been assaulted by the very people who now said, God bless him! But when once committed to a side or a cause, the mob remains firm and sometimes violent. The people saw, instead of the monster depicted by his enemies in the reign of Henry VIII., a venerable, handsome, though decrepit man, who had been exiled, whether rightly or wrongly, for the maintenance of a principle; they looked upon a Plantagenet, the representative of the White Rose, when neither rose was any longer feared, but of which they had heard their fathers talk with enthusiasm; they saw the nobility and the gentry hurrying into the town, to pay him their court, amidst the sound of trumpets and the clash of armour; they saw the hundred horsemen who had attended the first comers trebled in point of numbers. It was a splendid cavalcade which was about to leave the town, when the time for departure arrived; and the people waited for the appearance of the cardinal to receive him with a genuine English cheer.

There is one thing, in weal or in woe, to which attention is always paid; and, before starting for a ride to Canterbury, Pole was preparing for dinner, when the archdeacon and a deputation from the chapter of the metropolitan cathedral were announced. Here,

* The Earl of Huntingdon had married Katharine, the daughter and co-heiress of Pole's elder brother Henry, the only Lord Montague of the Pole family. The young man was therefore Pole's nephew. The Earl of Huntingdon is one of the three catskin earls of the present day, —one of the first three earls in the House of Lords: in Pole's time he was regarded as a *novus homo*.

again, Pole's patience was to be tried. Harpsfield,* the archdeacon, was anxious to receive the representative of the pope with all the honours in former times displayed when a legate a latere visited the ecclesiastical metropolis. Pole, however, refused to disobey the injunctions of the queen and king; he was not to appear as legate, but only as a cardinal on a visit to the queen, the kinswoman in whose cause he had suffered exile and been subjected to persecution. To the remonstrances of Harpsfield—anxious to perform a more conspicuous part than that which was assigned to him, and with something of that Italian diplomacy which seeks to render every event subservient to the purposes of the papacy—Pole assigned, as a reason for his conduct, the fact that, as the realm was in a state of schism, he could not appear in the character of legate until absolution had been pronounced. The insincerity of this assertion was, within a very few days, to be proved by his conduct. Meantime the moderation he exhibited, and his deference to the laws of the land and the wishes of his sovereign, when repeated to the assembling multitude, made them the more ready by their cheers to speak their welcome.

The archdeacon and the chapter were invited to dine with the cardinal. The dinner was served, as the Italian historian informs us, with more than usual ceremony. At the high table sat the nobility and gentry of the county, the splendour of whose attire, especially in the massive gold chains suspended from their necks, was thought worthy of special notice, exciting the admiration and astonishment of the foreigner.

A cavalcade, consisting of four hundred horsemen, splendidly equipped, left Dover when the early dinner was finished. As they approached Canterbury, the citizens

* The well-known Nicolas Harpsfield, a zealous papist, was appointed Archdeacon of Canterbury in 1554, and was deposed in 1559.

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were reminded of the golden days of which their fathers had spoken, when pilgrimages to the shrine of St. Thomas brought grist to many and various mills; and the cheers of the approaching multitude met with a response from the cheers of the multitude by whom the chapter going forth to meet the royal cardinal were acclaimed.

The civic authorities united in procession with the dignitaries and officers of the cathedral, and attended the cardinal to the residence of the archdeacon.

At the door of his residence the archdeacon had already taken his place. Before him were the ruins of the archiepiscopal palace, burnt to the ground three years before; around him was an illumination, for the torches were already lighted. The cardinal had descended from his litter, and rode into the town on horseback. This attention to the wishes of the people, eager to look at him, added to his fatigues; but upon the weary cardinal, Harpsfield did not waste a thought. The thought in Harpsfield's mind was the impression he should himself make by an address conceived in the worst possible taste. He spoke of the special providence of God as visible in the events of which they were witnesses, and he produced the commonplaces upon the subject with which the people of his party were familiar. To all this Pole listened with the patience of a high-bred man; but the archdeacon could not restrain the enthusiasm into which he had lashed his intellect: "Thou art Pole!" he exclaimed, "and thou art to us as the polar star, opening to us the kingdom of heaven; all nature hath been pining for thee, the sky, the waters, the earth, and"—not perceiving the bathos, but pointing to the walls of the ruined palace, as typifying the condition of the Church—"those very walls; and now by thy

return all things are happy, smiling in tranquillity and peace."

The patience of the weary traveller was now completely exhausted: "While you were praising God," exclaimed Pole, "I heard you with pleasure. My own praises I have no wish to hear." He pushed past the disappointed flatterer with the words, "Give God the praise;" and retiring to his chamber, he there passed the night.

The friends of Harpsfield may have complained of the cardinal's rudeness, but the people applauded his humility; and this first proof of his firmness, in union with modesty, prepared the way for a still more brilliant reception of the returning exile on the morrow.

On the morrow, Pole wrote to the queen and king for fresh instructions. Surely the manner in which he was received by all classes of the people would justify their majesties in permitting him to assume the external badges of an office which those who acclaimed him knew that he had come to discharge. He was on his road to London. He was received everywhere as a legate sent on a message of peace, though, at the same time, himself disclaiming the title with which every one else saluted him. He desired to be informed whither, when he arrived in London, he was to go, what he was to do, and how he was to appear. Was he to approach the capital as a visitor to the queen and king? He sent the letter by a confidential messenger, who could answer all questions, Richard Pate, the titular Bishop of Worcester.

On the afternoon of that day, the cardinal went to Sittingbourne. On the following day, he started for Rochester, where the princely mansion of Lord Cobham, two miles distant from the city, was placed at his dis-

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posal.* Curiosity impelled many to join the crowds which came to behold a cardinal so much talked of, and soon joined in the cheers raised by others who, opposed to the late reformation, regarded Pole as come to effect a reformation such as would meet with the approbation of the Bishop of Rome.

To the delight of this class of persons, and to the admiration of all the sight-seers, the next morning Reginald Pole exhibited himself, no longer as a private gentleman on a visit to the king and queen, but as the recognised minister of the pope. The persons forming the cardinal's suite were seeking information on what related to the ceremonial observed in times past by Cardinal Wolsey, whenever that great man appeared in public as a *legatus a latere*. With all the pomp in which Wolsey delighted, Reginald Pole now made his appearance. The past was renewed. Before him were now carried the legate's cross, two massive silver pillars, and two silver poleaxes, so often criticised in Wolsey's time. The Italians were busy in instructing the English in the long-forgotten ceremonial now once more to be observed.

The change was occasioned by the return of Pate. He arrived at Cowling Castle on the evening of the 23rd, the bearer of a kind message from the king and queen. They gave Pole full authority to assume the insignia of the legate's office. By a message from Gardynier he was informed, that the bill for the repeal of his attainder was virtually passed; and that the manor-house of the archbishop at Lambeth was under preparation for his residence.†

* Cowling Castle was celebrated as the residence of Sir John Oldcastle, and had been lately pillaged by the insurgents under Wyatt's command.

† It has been before remarked, that the episcopal residence in the

The reaction had now completely set in ; and though his term of life was nearly reached, yet, in the animation of prosperity, Pole felt almost young again : he certainly had more of health and vigour than he had for many preceding years enjoyed. Compelled to throw off the habits of an invalid, he found himself really stronger than he had supposed himself to be. He was able to endure a great amount of fatigue, but, as if to show that it had not all been imagination, within two years his fatigues ended in his death.

The cortége moved from Rochester to Gravesend. Here Pole found the Earl of Shrewsbury and his old and esteemed friend the Bishop of Durham,* commissioned by the king and queen to receive him with the reverence usually paid to the papal ambassador. They presented to him, sealed with a gold seal, the act of parliament by which his attainder was reversed, and his family restored to its hereditary honours. They were enabled to give proof of the zeal manifested in his favour by the king and queen ; for their majesties, contrary to the precedents of late years established, had attended the House of Lords, and given the royal assent in their own persons. The Bishop of Durham presented him with the letters patent authorising him to exercise his functions in England as a legate a latere ; an authorisation which

cathedral town was called the palace, the other residences of bishops were called manors. Although the palace of Canterbury had been destroyed by fire, it was not till Elizabeth's reign, that the archbishop was exonerated from rebuilding it ; and Lambeth is still only a manor.

* Bishop Tunstall had been, like Pole, a reformer ; unlike Pole, he had participated in some of the reforming measures of Henry VIII. ; but he had been alarmed by the excesses of the reformers in the last reign, and was, like Gardynier and others of that stamp, ready to admit what he now called his errors, and even to admit the papal supremacy.

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did not protect Wolsey from incurring the penalties of a *præmunire*, but which was necessary in Pole's case, since by it he was commissioned to reconcile the Church and realm of England to the see of Rome. The goodwill of parliament had been evinced towards him by the readiness exhibited in the reversal of his attainder. The bill had been introduced on the 17th of November; and having been read in the house three times in two days,* it was passed on the 21st, and was ready to receive the royal assent on the 22nd.

At Gravesend, Pole rested, and prepared himself for the arduous duties of the ensuing day. He had become a foreigner in his habits, and his personal friends were Italian. They had supported him in Italy under adverse circumstances, and he was not going to forsake them in his hour of prosperity. Luigi Priuli, with whom for twenty-six years he had lived in uninterrupted friendship, and Nicolo Ormanetto, were his only confidants. Floribello continued to be his secretary; Stella his steward; Rollo the comptroller of his household. It is not to be wondered at, if a household of foreigners in an English palace should have become unpopular, and that another reaction had commenced before the queen and her kinsman had paid the debt of nature.† But this was not observed at present.

Nevertheless, though the members of his household

* Burnet says, in one day—the fact which marks the transaction as singular,—but in the journal two days are mentioned.

† There are certain writers who are facetious on the Italian ecclesiastics, representing them as believing that, when they saw the stream of the Thames flowing inland towards Lambeth, a miracle was wrought in Pole's favour. That in Pole's suite, as in any other assembly of men, there may have been fools ready to believe anything, is possible—we may say it is probable; but the Italian writer to whom we are indebted for the description of the progress of Pole, goes out of his

were foreign, and Italian instead of English their language, Pole, with all his faults, was himself a loyal Englishman at heart. He heartily, and with a feeling of native pride, enjoyed the surprise of his Italian friends, taught to regard England as a land of fogs in which the sun was never seen, when, on the 25th of November, 1554, they saw that same sun, with a brilliancy unsurpassed, shining down on the splendid thoroughfare of London, the silvery Thames, as it carried up the fresh sea breeze to Westminster and Lambeth. No street in Europe could compare with the watery highway of London.

The royal barge was lying before Gravesend, waiting the legate's command. It was splendidly decorated: a chair of state was spread with purple, seated on which his most reverend lordship might exhibit himself to the people without incurring unnecessary fatigue.

As Pole ascended the barge, the silver cross of the legate appeared on its prow. The passing scene was splendid. A multitude of vessels were waiting for a signal to escort the legate up the river—from the ornate barge of the nobleman to the hackney boat of the artisan. By the rapidity of the stream and the strength of the rowers, the barge had reached the front of Whitehall before any one was aware of its approach. It had been arranged that Pole, on his passage to Lambeth, should pay his respects, in passing, to the king and queen at Whitehall; but it had been calculated that he would not arrive before dinner was over; and he had now come when the officials were in the midst of their repast. The rowers ceased to pull; they looked to the legate for orders; but

way to explain, that the river, being tidal, there was nothing remarkable in the fact he describes, opposed though it was to the experience of the Italians.

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before he could decide what was to be done, the Lord High Chancellor was seen at the head of the pier. Bishop Gardynere, versed in the ways of courts, and of foreign courts, received the legate with reverence, making a low obeisance, as if at once to admit his superior rank. The arrangements had been, under his direction, so admirably made, that the servants, though taken by surprise, immediately fell into their places; and between a lane of liveried servants standing on either side, the Lord High Chancellor of England and the Legate of Rome now passed in friendly conversation.* At a little distance, at the entrance of the palace, they saw the king approaching, surrounded by his courtiers. The king and the legate embraced. Philip condescended to explain, that he and the queen were seated at the dinner-table, when the shoutings of the people attracted attention, and the king lost not a moment in hurrying to the river's side to welcome so honoured a guest. Philip offered his arm to support the feeble cardinal as they approached the grand staircase, at the top of which, surrounded by her ladies, the queen was seen standing, impatient to welcome her kinsman. She received him with a salute on his cheek, after the manner at that time peculiar to England;†

* There are frequently some discrepancies in the narratives of eye-witnesses of events, even when there is a substantial agreement; for little details, even when they keep a diary, we must, to a certain extent, be dependent upon memory. In the Chronicle of the Grey Friars it is said: "Item—the xxiiii. of the same moneth came in the Cardinal Powle by Watter, and soo came to the Court at Whitehall: and in the midst of the Brigge the King met him, and soo eache salute other goodly and reverentially; and soo went in unto the Queen, and soo she met them at hare great chamber."—Chron. Grey Friars, London, 93. I follow the Italian description.

† In the life of Warham, a quotation is given from Erasmus, who mentions the custom of ladies receiving the gentlemen introduced to them with a kiss, as peculiar to England.

she condescended to say, that, since her accession and marriage, such joy as she now experienced she had never felt. On the arrival of the legate, a privy council was immediately ordered to be held, and a procession was formed to the Great Hall. The king having taken his place at the queen's right hand, and motioning the legate to take the left, said pleasantly in Latin, "We will place the queen between us;" when Pole, addressing the queen, replied, "You are thus doubly protected—the king representing the majesty of the emperor on the one side, and I representing his holiness the pope on the other." He then discoursed, as was his custom, of the wonderful mercy of Divine Providence visible in the events of the day; while the queen, we are told, answered in many wise and humble words. She explained to him in their native language, some of the many reasons which had compelled her to postpone his arrival; to which the legate politely but not very delicately replied, that the delay was to be attributed to the overruling of Providence, that he might be able to say, as he said now, *Benedictus fructus ventris tui*.

Having reached the presence chamber, the three great personages stood under a canopy, conversing with one another for a quarter of an hour. One by one the members of the legation were presented to their majesties by Lord Paget. They kissed hands, and were graciously received.

When the cardinal took his departure, notwithstanding his polite remonstrances, the queen insisted upon attending him to the top of the stairs, where she had first met him. The king went with him to the door. The Bishop of Winchester, the Duke of Alva, and the nobility, both English and Spanish, accompanied him to his barge at the head of the pier. The bishop, indeed, entered the barge with him and crossed the water. He put the

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legate in possession of Lambeth, which had been splendidly furnished at the queen's expense, the rooms being hung with costly tapestry.

The two prelates remained for some time in friendly conversation ; all past misunderstandings having been forgiven and forgotten. When the chancellor had taken his departure, Pole retired to his private apartments, overcome by exhaustion. However pleasurable the excitement, still excitement tells upon a debilitated frame ; and Pole had this day, undergone an amount of exertion which, a few weeks before, his physician would have regarded as impossible. But with good news he was to be overwhelmed. Lord Montague was again announced. He had been despatched by the queen to communicate the fact, that such was the happy effect of the legate's advent and of his prayers, that the babe had leaped in her womb. The legate issued orders immediately that the joyful intelligence should be notified to the people from the pulpit on the morrow, when, in gratitude for the event, *Te Deums* were to be sung.

Although invited to join the festivities of the Sunday at court, Pole was permitted to observe that day as a Sabbath, and to husband his feeble powers for the exertions he knew to be awaiting him during the ensuing week. The importance of proceeding to action while the people were in good humour, impressed itself upon Gardyner's mind, who had managed things so adroitly as to be able to accomplish, in a few days after Pole's arrival, what six months before it would have been madness to attempt. Pole was requested to be prepared to open his commission to the sovereigns, and to the three estates of the realm, on the 27th. The delicate state of the queen's health was urged as a plea for proposing that, instead of a formal session of parliament, the two houses

should assemble in one chamber at Whitehall, there to meet the queen and her husband. It was arranged, that the sovereigns and the estates of the realm should there and then receive the communication the legate was commissioned to make.

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For this ceremonial the public mind was prepared by sermons at Paul's Cross and elsewhere. On the 27th, the streets of London were filled with processions; and a *Te Deum* was sung at St. Paul's. The officers of state and the members of parliament were seen hurrying to Whitehall. After dinner, the doors of the presence chamber were thrown open, and the room was immediately filled by the lords and commons, who came promiscuously, not to debate, but to hear a statement made. At the top of the saloon, under a canopy, two thrones had been placed; and just beyond the canopy, a chair of state. When the doors at that end of the saloon were thrown open, the Lord High Chancellor, with the great officers of state, entered in solemn procession, preceding the royal pair accoutred in all the habiliments of royalty. The queen, who had no delicacy of mind, exposed herself in the most indecent manner, as she boldly faced the peers and commons; and was, or affected to be, so weak as to require assistance when ascending the steps to the throne.*

They were followed by Cardinal Pole, arrayed in the splendid robes of his office. He was attended by four gentlemen in magnificent court dresses, and, as the fashion

* "This day did the king and queen and the lords of parliament sit at the court at Whitehall in the chamber of presence, where the queen sat highest, richly apparelled, and her belly laid out, that all men might see that she was with child. At this parliament it was said labour was made to have the king crowned, and some thought that the queen for that cause did lay out her belly the more."—Contemporary Diary, printed by Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 323.

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was, with massive chains of gold depending from their necks. Two of these were the bearers of silver crosses ; and the silver pillars were borne before him by the other two. Old men remembered the days of Wolsey ; and comparing England under Henry, with what it had become under Edward, they were inclined to think, that any change would be for the better, if only the liberty of the subject could be secured. There was a solemn silence, which, after a pause, was broken by the well-known voice of the chancellor, Bishop Gardyner, who addressed the assembly : “ My lords of the upper house, and you my masters of the nether house.” He proceeded to introduce my Lord Cardinal Pole, legate a latere “ accredited to the court of England from the apostolic see of Rome, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened to this realm, and which pertained to the glory of God and the general welfare. The which ambassade their majesties’ pleasure it was, that he should signify to the peers and commons by his own mouth. The chancellor trusted that they would receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankful wise as their highnesses had done, and that they would give attention and inclinable ears to his grace who was present to declare the same.”

All eyes were fixed on Pole. The infirmity of the individual contrasted with his official splendour, and pleaded in his favour. He had the appearance of a much-enduring man.

He spoke, but he was audible only to the few who pressed towards the front eager to catch his words. If Pole was no orator, he was a skilful rhetorician ; and if he was not deeply read in history, he did not hesitate to draw upon his imagination for facts.

“ My lords all,” he began, “ and you that are the commons of this present parliament assembled, which in effect

is nothing else but the state and body of this realm. As the cause of my repair hither hath been most wisely and gravely declared by my Lord Chancellor, so, before I enter upon the particulars of my commission, I have somewhat to say touching myself."

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He then thanked their majesties and the three estates, the lords and prelates, the lords temporal, and the commons of the realm, for the reversal of the attainder, and proceeded:—

"This I protest unto you all, that though I was exiled my native country without just cause, as God knoweth, yet that ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and desire that I had to do you good. If the offer of my service might have been received, it was never to seek, and where it could not be taken, you never failed of my prayers, nor ever shall. Leaving, however, the rehearsal of particulars, I come to that which is now my principal travail, to wit, the restoration of this noble realm to its ancient nobility. The see apostolic, whence I come, hath an especial respect for this realm above all others; and not without reason, seeing that God Himself hath, as it were, by a particular providence, given to this realm prerogative of nobility above others. To make this plain, you are to be informed that this was the first of all islands which received the light of Christ's religion. As history testifies, it stood first among the provinces in embracing the faith of Jesus; for the Britons received Christianity from the apostolic see, not in parts as other countries did, but altogether at once, as it were in a moment. But after their ill merits or forgetfulness of God had deserved expulsion, and infidel strangers possessed their land, yet our Heavenly Father forgot not the region which once believed. He so illumined the hearts of the Saxons, that within a very short space they forsook the darkness of

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heathen errors and embraced the light of Christ's religion. This benefit must be ascribed to God, but the instruments by which our island gained it came from Rome. With the Church established in that city our forefathers continued henceforth in bonds of strictest unity. Divers of the Saxon kings even thought it not enough to profess obedience to the Roman see, but they left their native realms and personally offered homage to the pontiffs, from whom they had derived such mighty spiritual advantages. Others of our countrymen showed the greatness of the benefit which their nation had received by displaying such qualities as obtained the highest respect among foreigners. Alcuin was invited from England by Charlemagne for the purpose of teaching in the University of Paris. Adrian IV., an Englishman, converted Norway from heathenism; which Adrian afterwards, from his affection to this his native country, gave the dominion of Ireland, then pertaining to the see of Rome, to our king Henry II. But I will not rehearse the manifold benefits which our country hath received from the apostolic see, nor the manifold miseries which the nation hath undergone since it swerved from unity with the same. I must, however, say, that the like plagues have happened in all countries which, forsaking Catholic unity, have followed fantastical doctrines. Asia and Greece have swerved from unity with the Church of Rome, and they have fallen under subjection to the Turk. Germany has also swerved from this unity; hence she is afflicted miserably with a diversity of sects and factions. Why should I rehearse unto you the tumults and effusion of blood which have happened there of late years? Or why should I trouble you with mention of those plagues which have happened here since the innovation of religion? Yet see how far forth this fury went. Those who live under the Turk may freely live

after their own consciences ; but so it was not lawful here. If it be well examined upon what grounds these innovations began, they will be seen to have arisen from avarice and from the carnal lust of one man. There was, however, no need why all these devices practised in this realm against the Church of Rome should have lost you. There wanted not great offers of the most mighty potentates in all Europe to aid the Church in that quarrel. Now mark the sequel of these changes. Upon the face of them seemed to be great wealth and gain ; but they ended in great misery and lack. See, then, how God can confound the wisdom of the wise, and turn unjust policy to mere folly, bringing plain ruin and decay from that which was looked upon as a relief. Observe, again, that Divine goodness which has never failed us. When the light of true religion seemed utterly extinct, the churches being extinct, the altars overthrown, the ministers corrupt, yet in a few, and especially in the breast of the queen's excellency, remained the confession of Christ's faith. And see how miraculously God of His goodness preserved her highness. When numbers conspired against her, and policies were devised to disinherit her, yet she, virgin as she was, helpless, naked, and unarmed, she prevailed, and gained the victory over tyrants. This is not to be ascribed to any policy of man, but only to the great goodness and providence of Almighty God. To Him be the honour and glory thereof. This your queen and lawful governess, who was born among you, for the restitution of true religion, and for the extirpation of all errors and sects. And for the confirming of her grace more strongly in this enterprise, lo ! the providence of God hath united her in marriage with a prince of like religion, who, though possessed of great might, force and armour, yet useth towards you none of these things, but seeketh you by means of love

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and amity alone. You have great reason to thank God for sending to you such a Catholic governess, and for conjoining her with such a spouse. Nor is it to be doubted that God will send issue to their majesties, for the comfort and surety of this commonwealth.* Of all the princes in Germany the emperor hath travailed most in the cause of religion; yet he hath not, haply by some secret judgment of God, achieved his end. I can well compare him to David, who, though elect of God, for that he was contaminate with war and blood, could not build the temple of Jerusalem; but left the finishing thereof unto his son Solomon, the peaceful king. So it may be thought that the appeasing of controversies in religion is not appointed unto the emperor, but rather unto his son, who shall complete that building of the Church which his father hath begun. Now this Church cannot be perfectly builded unless all realms adhere to one head, acknowledging him as the vicar of God, endued with power from above; for all power is of God; and He, for the conservation of quiet and godliness, hath divided it on earth into two distinct branches, the imperial and the ecclesiastical. The former of these within this realm is vested in their most excellent majesties here present; the latter is, by the authority of God's Word, and the examples of the apostles and fathers, attributed to the see of Rome. From this see I stand here the deputed legate and ambassador, having ample authority from thence to use the keys, which of right belong to it. I cannot, however, use these keys and open to you, because of certain impediments on your parts, which must be removed before my commission can take full effect. I protest before you, that my commission is not of prejudice to any person; I come to reconcile, not to condemn. I am not come to call anything in question

* "The cardinal here appeareth to be a false prophet."—Foxe.

already done; my commission is of grace and clemency to such as will receive it, for all matters past shall be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness. Now the mean whereby you shall receive this benefit is the repeal of those laws which are impediments, blocks and bars, in the way of executing my commission. For like as I myself had neither place nor voice among you until you had revoked the law which kept me from my country; even so cannot you receive the grace offered by the apostolic see, before all such laws are abrogated as disjoin and dissever you from the unity of Christ's Church." *

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He spoke so low that only a very few could hear, and even these imperfectly; hence the address made no impression upon the assembly. The hale old chancellor, many years senior to the cardinal, rose from his place. In the name of all assembled he thanked the legate for his address, and informed him, that the two houses would deliberate on his proposals. The king, the queen, and the cardinal quitted the chamber. The Lord Chancellor remained; and in his clear and distinct voice read again the address, in tones audible to all. Pole's address was a written one, and in the composition of it, Gardyner, we may presume, had been consulted. Gardyner introduced the repetition of it, in accordance with the fashion of the day, by quoting a text of Scripture;† and he concluded by exhorting all persons to repent of the measures hitherto taken against the see of Rome, with a view to the retracing of their steps. The exhortation became emphatic, when

* Soames, iv. 260.

† The text chosen was Deut. xviii. 15: "The Lord shall raise up a prophet unto thee from amongst thy brethren." The irreverence of applying to Reginald Pole a prophecy relating to our Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ is offensive to our minds; but it was customary for some time afterwards thus to misapply Scripture. Something very similar was done in our time, when the late Prince Consort visited Liverpool. The extremes here met.

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the old man boldly held out himself as an example : he had been one of the greatest delinquents, and was now the deepest penitent.*

The reactionary party now carried everything before it. The leading Protestants had fled the country ; those who remained in England were not, many of them, zealots, and if no search had been made for them, they would have continued in retirement. The people at large, until they were exasperated by the persecutions, were more inclined to the old system than to the new. The parliament had been packed. The heads of the Romanizing party felt that the time of action had arrived, and that there must be no delay. The very day following the occurrences just narrated, the two houses of parliament debated on the subject of Pole's communication, and agreed to the following petition to the king and queen : †—

“ We, the lords spiritual and temporal of the commons, in this present parliament assembled, representing the whole body of the realm of England and dominions of the same, in the name of ourselves particularly, and also of the said body universally, offer this our most humble supplication to your majesties, to this end and effect that the same, by your graces' intercession and mean, may be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the Lord Cardinal Pole, legate, sent specially hither from our most holy father Pope Julius the Third and the see apostolic of Rome, wherein we do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant of the long schism and disobedience committed in this realm and the dominions of the same against the said see apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or executing of any laws, ordinances, against the primacy of the same see, or otherwise doing or speaking that might impugn or prejudice the same ;

* See the queen's letter to the sheriffs in the Parliamentary History.

† This petition is taken from the Parliamentary History, and is also to be found in Fabyan's Chronicle.

offering ourselves, and promising by this our supplication that, for a token and knowledge of this our said repentance, we be, and shall be ever ready, under and with the authorities of your majesties, to the uttermost of our power, to do that shall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of all the said laws and ordinances made or enacted to the prejudice of the see apostolic, as well for ourselves as for the whole body whom we represent. Whereupon most humbly we beseech your majesties, as personages undefiled in the offence of this body towards the said see, which nevertheless God in His providence hath made subject to you, so to set forth this our humble suit, as we the rather by your intercession may obtain from the see apostolic, by the said most reverend father, as well particularly as generally, absolution, release, and discharge from all dangers of such censures and sentences as by the laws of the Church we be fallen into. And that we may, as children repentant, be received into the bosom and unity of Christ's Church, so as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may in this unity and perfect obedience to the see apostolic and popes for the time being serve God and your majesties, to the furtherance and advancement of His honour and glory. Amen."*

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The day now dawned on which the daydream of Pole's life was to be realised—St. Andrew's day, a day which he expected to be memorable for ever in the annals of England—only memorable now for having been a day of a national disgrace, the remembrance of which we have no desire to retain.

The two houses were to meet, as before, at Whitehall, and to assemble in one chamber. The lords spiritual were to occupy the right side of the queen, and the temporal lords the left, while the commons were to sit on the cross benches in the centre of the hall. On a dais or platform there were erected, as before, two thrones under a canopy of cloth of gold; and just beyond the canopy, a chair of state for the cardinal.

* Parl. Hist. iii. 320.

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It was not till the afternoon, after dinner, that the houses were summoned to meet; for the court attended high mass at Westminster Abbey in the morning. The Knights of the Garter, and the Knights of the Golden Fleece, arrayed in all their magnificence, were present, and added to the splendour of the pageant.

As the time fixed for the commencement of business in the parliament approached, the Earl of Arundel, Lord Chamberlain, was in waiting at Lambeth. He was attended by six Knights of the Garter; he was accompanied by the Lord Chancellor, who was attended by an equal number of prelates. The king was, as before, at the gate of the palace to receive the legate, and to induct him, in due state, to the queen.

As the cortége entered the chamber, the whole assembly arose. There was a dead silence, as the Lord Chancellor, having first made obeisance to the king and queen, faced the two houses now assembled, and read the resolution which, framed in the same words, had been agreed upon in each house separately. He now put it to them collectively, whether, adhering to these resolutions, they were pleased to supplicate the legate for pardon, and to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope. Some of them answered Yea, and the silence of the rest being taken for consent, the petition was presented to the king and queen in the name of the Parliament of England.

The queen, for form's sake, cast her eye on the petition, and handed it to the king. The king and queen having made a show of consulting together returned it to the Chancellor.

A prouder position than that now occupied by Reginald Pole as an individual, or one more degrading to the nation, can scarcely be imagined. Of all the assembly

he alone retained his seat. Before him knelt the Queen of England and her husband, the son of the emperor; the nation, represented by the two houses of parliament, was on its knees, as it were, before the minister of a foreign potentate. Their majesties, as individuals uncontaminated by the schism, were the suppliants of a proud nation soliciting for slavery.

Pole proudly remarked—

“Much indeed has this English nation to thank the Almighty for recalling them to His fold. Once again hath God given a token of His special favour to the realm; for as this nation, in the time of the primitive Church, was the first to be called out of the darkness of heathenism, so now have they been the first to whom God has given grace to repent of their schism; and if their repentance be sincere, how will the angels rejoice at the conversion of a single sinner, and triumph at the recovery of a great and noble people!”

The king and queen returned to their thrones. There is something approaching to the sublime in the calmness displayed on this occasion by Pole. He had learned in Italy the value of a *coup de théâtre*. He remained sitting. He directed his secretary to read the bulls and briefs by which he was commissioned to act, and by which he was invested with the power of a plenipotentiary. Probably only an abstract from the documents was read; but, even in this case, some length of time must have intervened before the legate himself spoke. During this time he could contemplate the degradation of the nation, regarded by him as only the triumph of religion. The king and queen might have regarded their part as accomplished, for the absolution about to be pronounced had no direct reference to them—but they were on their knees. The Queen of England, and the three estates of the realm,

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knelled before Reginald Pole, when, extending his arms, he absolved a prostrate people.*

“Our Lord Jesus Christ, which with His most precious blood hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that He might purchase to Himself a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed Head over all His Church, He by His mercy absolve you, and we, by the apostolic authority given unto us by the most holy Lord Pope Julius the Third, His vicegerent on earth, do absolve and deliver you and every of you, with the whole realm and the dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgments, censures, and pains for that cause incurred. And also we do restore you again to the unity of the Holy Church, as in our letters of commission more plainly shall appear, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.”

A procession was formed to the chapel, where a *Te Deum* was sung.

It was four o'clock before the services were concluded. Pole had only time to write a short despatch to Rome announcing an event, which, if anticipated, was not expected to result in so complete a triumph.† The joy of the apathetic Julius III. was exuberant; and it is to his credit, that he made the proceedings in England a ground for renewing his attempt to promote the pacification of Europe.

* The briefs and bulls are to be found in the appendix to Tierney's edition of Dodd. There are extracts from them in Wilkins, iv. 91. They are in Latin, and in the technical phraseology of the ecclesiastical courts; hence I infer that they were not read *in extenso*.

† See Quirini, v. 1. There is a passage, offensively expressed in the style of the age, in which he compares the marriage of Mary and Philip to the mystical union betwixt Christ and His Church. It was in accordance with the bad taste of the time.

On the 2nd of December, Advent Sunday, Cardinal Pole again embarked in his state barge, and was rowed to Castle Baynard. The Lord Mayor and the corporation were in waiting to receive him with all the honour due to a papal legate.* He was escorted by the civic authorities to St. Paul's. At the west door of the cathedral he was met by the Bishop of Winchester, and such of the bishops as had conformed to the present order of things, in their pontificals and mitred, and by the clergy of the cathedral in splendid copes. They passed in procession to the choir. As the clock struck ten, the king had arrived with a magnificent retinue, and under an escort of four hundred horse. High mass was celebrated; and the courtiers, accustomed to mingle with the people, left the church, and joined the multitude assembled at St. Paul's Cross. Bishop Gardiner ascended the pulpit, and repeated in the ears of all, the absolution which the legate had previously pronounced upon the Church and Realm of England. He took his text from Romans xiii. : "Seeing the time that now it is high time to awake out of sleep."† The sermon was, on the part of Gardiner, a complete palinode. The reaction had now set in, and was only afterwards to be checked by the horror occasioned through the persecutions, which have given to Mary's reign, and to the queen herself, a bad pre-eminence.

Convocation was in session when Pole arrived in England as legate a latere; and the convocation petitioned the king and queen to interpose in behalf of the clergy, that they might obtain absolution from the legate

* Immediately after the reversal of his attainder, Pole received a message from the queen authorising him to appear as legate, and by her authority, verbally given, he acted; but his formal licence, as given in his register, bears date the 10th of December.

† Strype, Memorials, iii. 326.

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for the sin of the Reformation, chiefly effected through their instrumentality. The legate appointed a meeting of the two houses at Lambeth; and on the 6th of December, 1554, absolved them from all their perjuries, schisms, and heresies. The absolution was received by the clergy on their bended knees; and a commission was granted to the bishops to give a similar absolution in their respective dioceses.*

The lower house of convocation had been carefully packed in the last elections, and now proceeded to stultify itself by a vote that heretical books might be destroyed, including under that denomination the schismatical communion book, or "the reformed misal," as drawn up in the late reign, suspicious translations of the Bible, and the English ordinal; but the clergy in convocation, being most of them seculars, were as resolute as the laity, in resisting any attempt to restore the alienated abbey lands. Either in suspicion of the cardinal's intentions, or to strengthen his hands, the clergy of the province of Canterbury presented a petition to the throne expressive of their determination to support the titles of those who had purchased Church property. They also expressed a hope that the cardinal would be supported by the government in his endeavour once more to place the Church on such a basis as would be most conducive to the welfare of religion. A similar petition, more specific in its details, was presented by the two houses of parliament. The petitions being referred to the cardinal, he acceded to all the demands in an instrument published on the 24th of December. All cathedral churches, colleges, and schools founded, during

* There was a convocation held in 1553, in which the doctrine of transubstantiation was asserted, and of which an account is given in the life of Cranmer. The second convocation in Mary's reign was summoned by a writ addressed to the Bishop of London.

the so-called schism, were to be preserved ; all marriages contracted within the prohibited degrees, but under the sanction of the civil law, were to be valid ; all institutions and benefices, all dispensations granted under an act of parliament, and all judicial processes made before the ordinaries, or before delegates, were, on approval, to be confirmed ; and all persons having sufficient conveyance of any lands, tenements, or other property formerly belonging to the Church, might, without scruple of conscience, and without impediment or trouble by pretence of any general council, canons, or ecclesiastical laws, thenceforth continue to enjoy the same.

Nothing could be more entire or satisfactory than this surrender of Church property. The possessors of the alienated lands felt that their tenure had become doubly secure. What had been done by the State in this respect was now ratified by the Church ; and the acts of the Reformation were maintained in all things, except where doctrine and the papal supremacy were concerned.

On the 4th of January, 1555, a few days after the publication by Pole of the instrument to which allusion has just been made, a bill was drawn up, and passed both houses of parliament without opposition. In this statute were repealed all acts, together with all clauses, sentences, and articles in an act passed in the twentieth of Henry VIII., against the supremacy of the see apostolic. It provided, with respect to bulls, dispensations, and privileges obtained or to be obtained from the see of Rome, that all such instruments, not containing matter prejudicial to the royal authority, or to the laws and customs of the realm, might be put in execution, and alleged in any sort whatever ; it established the jurisdiction of the bishops over all exempt churches and chapels in their respective dioceses : it concluded by declaring, that nothing in the

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act contained should be construed to lessen the authority or prerogatives belonging to the crown in the twentieth year of Henry VIII. ; that the pope should have and enjoy, without diminution or enlargement, the same authority, pre-eminence, and jurisdiction which he might then have lawfully exercised in virtue of his supremacy ; and that the jurisdiction of archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries was to be restored to the same state in which it had existed antecedently to that period.*

This was the statute which may be said to have sealed Pole's triumph over the liberties of his country ; and we cannot record it without expressing the indignation which every patriot must feel against the legislators of that day. Puritan historians, in their zeal against popery, and infidel historians, in their hostility to the Christian religion, endeavour to throw the blame of these proceedings and the persecuting enactments, exclusively upon the Romanizing bishops and clergy ; but it is to be remembered, that although there is no doubt of their concurrence with the laity, the clergy not only had no seat in the House of Commons, but they were not permitted even to vote in the election of its members. The parliament throughout this period, whether influenced or not by court intrigue and Spanish gold, were so far in advance of the clergy, in their zeal to put down Protestantism and to establish popery, that Burnet, a Protestant of the Protestants, does not hesitate to assert, that the Romanizing bishops "were forced to moderate the heat of the House of Commons." Certain it is, that by the leading laymen of the age, who formed the queen's council, a complaint was then made, not unintelligible even at the present time, that the bishops were remiss in their proceedings against the heretics ; and even against Bonner

* Stat. I. and II. Phil. & Mary, c. 8.

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himself such a charge was substantiated, because he refused to proceed against persons who, not living in his diocese, were not legally under his jurisdiction.*

These events, so far exceeding, in their success, the most sanguine expectations of the papal party, had been notified to the pope, not only by the despatch of the legate, but by an autograph letter from King Philip. It was the policy of the young king to conciliate the authorities at Rome, and consequently a formal embassy was despatched to the papal see; and it was arranged that the submission of the realm of England to that foreign potentate should be signified to his holiness by persons representing every class of society. The formal acknowledgment of the papal supremacy was conveyed to Rome by the Bishop of Ely on the part of the clergy of the Church of England, by Lord Montague as the representative of the nobles, by Sir Edward Carne on the part of the commonalty. The last-named

* Burnet, who of all men would have been the last to vindicate Bonner, is obliged to admit that "he complained that the matter was turned over upon him, the rest looking on and leaving the execution of these laws wholly to him; so when the justices and sheriffs sent up heretics to him, he sent them back and refused to meddle further. Upon which the king and queen writ to him, on the 24th of May, complaining of this, and admonished him to have from henceforth more regard to the office of a good pastor and bishop; and when such offenders were brought to him, to endeavour to remove them from their errors, or, if they were obstinate, to proceed against them according to law." (Burnet, ii. 499.) Perhaps no specimen of party malignity can be produced to compare with that of which the Whig historian is guilty when, without a shadow of proof, he gratuitously remarks: "This letter he caused to be put in his register, from whence I copied it, and have placed it in the collections. Whether he procured this himself for a colour to excuse his proceedings, or whether it was sent to him by reason of his slackness, is not certain; but the latter is more probable, for he had burnt none during five weeks, but he soon redeemed that loss of time."

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person remained as the representative of England at the court of Rome.

The embassy had scarcely set sail, when news arrived in England of the death of Julius III. The news was so unexpected that the English court had not time to exert itself in favour of Pole; and the news of the vacancy was followed by the announcement that Marcello Cervini, Cardinal of Santa Croce, had been elected to the papal throne, under the title of Marcellus II.

Never did man bear a higher character for the possession of every Christian grace than this distinguished person, whose friendship for Pole is a testimonial to the character of the latter personage not to be forgotten.*

"The opinion," says a contemporary quoted by Ranke, "that men had of the goodness and the matchless wisdom of Marcellus inspired the world with hope. Now, if ever, it seemed possible for the Church to extinguish heretical opinions, to put an end to abuses and corrupt living, to regain her health and her unity."

The commencement of the reign of Marcellus corresponded with these anticipations. He would not suffer his

* Even the cautious Sir John Mason, in announcing the fact to our government, cannot forbear from saying, "The man is much commended for his wisdom and all other good parts fit for the place, void of corruption, and not wont to be led by any partial affection, and therefore, in the discourse made of the division of the cardinals between the one side and the other, he was accounted neuter. He was brought up under Papa Paulo, whose secretary he was, and therefore hath he, in sundry things, much (somewhat in times past) seemed to lean to the faction of Farnesè, with whom he was sent to the wars of Almain as counsellor and paymaster of the bands sent at that time by the pope to the aid of the emperor; and about the same time he was made cardinal. Nevertheless, the conjecture that the world hath of him is, that he will, without respect, in this charge demean himself uprightly, and so as may best tend to the universal peace of Christendom."—Tytler, ii. 467.

relations to come to Rome; he introduced numerous reductions in the expenditure of his court; he is said to have left a memoir, composed by himself, on the improvements to be introduced in the institutes of the Church; he immediately endeavoured to restore divine service to its due solemnity; all his thoughts were turned to a council, and to reform. In a political point of view he took a neutral position, with which the emperor was satisfied. "Nevertheless," said his contemporaries, "the world was not worthy of him." The words of Virgil concerning another Marcellus might be applied to him:—

"Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata."

On the 22nd day of his pontificate he died.* At the time of his death Pole was on the Continent. He was again playing the part of a statesman, and again he only proved his incapacity. Of the events in England Pole had apprized the King of France; and he had observed that, having accomplished so great a work as the reconciliation of England and Rome, he was directing his mind to effect a peace between the French king and the emperor. To the same purpose he addressed letters to the constable, and some of the leading statesmen at Paris, who, together with the king, had been accustomed, while rejecting his advice, to speak in flattering terms of the personage by whom that advice was proffered. In this negotiation, Pole's desire was to emulate the grandeur of Wolsey, but, as compared to Wolsey, he stood as a pigmy to a giant.

It was during Pole's absence from England, that the news came of the death of Marcellus.

The queen immediately exerted herself to procure the election of Pole as his successor. To the chancellor,

* Ranke, i. 191.

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Bishop Gardyner, to the Earl of Arundel, and to the Lord Paget, who were at this time with Pole, in the neighbourhood of Calais, she sent a letter, requiring them to urge the French king to use his influence in favour of the Cardinal of England. It was not probable, that Henry would cordially concur in the recommendation of a cardinal whose interests, whatever they at one time may have been, must have attached him now to the cause of Spain ; but he promised fairly to the queen, and, if we may give credit to the queen's minister at Brussels, who in penning a despatch had always some regard to the inclinations of the person addressed, Pole's name was certainly mentioned at Rome, as one on whom the choice of the cardinals might possibly fall. Writing on the 23rd of May from Brussels, he says, " The cardinals entered into conclave on the 15th instant ; the names mentioned as having a chance of being elected pope are, the Cardinal of England, Cardinal di Fano, Cardinal Morone, and the Cardinal of Naples, named Chietino—Archbishop of Chieti." On the 25th he wrote—" The cardinals entered into conclave. Ferrara makes shift by all means, lawful and unlawful, to carry the bell away ; but others, doubting the inconvenience of such election, and detecting the open bribery of his agents, do their best to let him ; and, what is best, Farnese, who was thought on his side, makes a party against him. It is thought, when he sees no chance of success, he will give his influence to Fano. The wagers in the banks run upon England, Morone, Fano, and Naples, otherwise called Chietino (Chieti) ; and least is laid on Ferrara his side, though he thrust never so fast at it."* From this despatch we may surmise what was regarded as Pole's chance, and in a letter dated the 29th, the ambassador observes :—" In the banks at Rome are laid on

* State Papers, Foreign, p. 170.

the head of the Cardinal of Naples twenty for the hundred; upon Ferrara, sixteen; on Pole, Fano, and Morone, twelve. If our cardinal were present at Rome, he were by the common opinion like to be made pope." *

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We may doubt whether Pole had any real chance. In the election of Marcellus, the cardinals had shown, that they were aware that the time had come when no one ought to be chosen to the popedom whose moral character was not unimpeachable; and the purity of Pole's life had recommended him on a former occasion. But they had also become aware that, combined with a good moral character, the times required a man of intellectual power, with energy in action, and with firmness in maintaining what he thought to be conducive to the well-being of the Church and of society. If the cardinals had not discovered that Pole was in all these respects deficient, there were, nevertheless, statesmen at hand to advise them that Pole was violent and weak, fawning in his humility, violent in his hostilities, if not irascible yet implacable when offended, defective in judgment, ready to undertake any office proposed to him, but too indolent to carry to a happy conclusion what, in his self-sufficiency, he was eager to commence. Such was not the man demanded by the exigencies of the time. Although, in electing Paul IV., their choice was not a happy one, nevertheless they had selected a man who, in regard to sensual indulgence, had from his youth been austere even to asceticism; and they had no reason to suppose that, at threescore years and fourteen, his partisanship would be unreasonable. They could not anticipate, from his antecedents, that he would give play to those vindictive passions which made his death appear premature, when at the age of seventy-eight he

* State Papers, Foreign, p. 170.

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expired in a paroxysm of wrath. It has, indeed, been observed that, in persons of an excitable temperament, their angry passions, as they advance in years, instead of disappearing, become more inflammable; and so it was with Paul. To Pole, personally, the election of Gianpietro Caraffa to the pontificate, under the title of Paul IV., must have been as offensive as the election of Marcellus had been acceptable. In politics, as well as in their private relations, Pole and the new pope had been long opposed; and it seemed scarcely possible that they should escape a collision.

Impolitic, however, as Paul's conduct towards England afterwards became, and personally hostile as he was to Pole, nothing could be more gracious than his reception of the ambassadors from England when first they appeared at his court. They had been despatched to acknowledge the papal supremacy in the person of Marcellus, and they arrived in Rome on the very day when Paul was crowned. In that ceremony they took their part, and by so doing they gratified the pope, who was as eager, when gratified, to evince his pleasure in glowing language, as he was ready, when offended, to express his indignation without restraint. They humbled themselves and disgraced their country, by prostrating themselves before the pope and seeking his absolution. His blessing he could easily grant, and raising the prostrate nobles of England, he embraced them, and condescended to receive the humiliated nation into favour.

It was on the 5th of June that these events took place, and five days after he granted the English ambassadors an audience. On this occasion he ratified whatever the English cardinal had done, and, as far as the process was necessary, he re-enacted it. It is worthy of remark, considering what afterwards occurred, that he went out of

his way to recognize Cardinal Pole. In a letter addressed to Philip and Mary, and preserved among the acts of the consistory, he made a point of assuring them that nothing would be wanting on his part that could conduce to the honour, emolument, and dignity of Cardinal Pole, whose good offices towards the Roman see, and towards Paul himself, were known to all men. When he afterwards accused Pole of heresy, it might have been urged, that up to this period his character had been whitewashed, and that the heretical acts must have been committed after the transmission of this letter, dated the 30th of June, 1555. In the letter is described the manner in which the embassy was received, through whom he conveyed the absolution and pardon they were commissioned to seek on behalf of a guilty but penitent realm.*

The ambassadors presented a letter from Pole himself. He referred to the zeal in the cause of a reformation formerly evinced by Paul; and a hope was expressed of seeing now carried into effect those reforms which were necessary to the well-being of the Church; a full admission was made of the difficulties which would have to be encountered; and he promised to render his cordial assistance as soon as he had received the commands of his holiness.†

By partisans on the one side, including Pole himself, Cranmer has been accused of having sacrificed his principles in his eagerness to secure the primacy: in the life of Cranmer we have shown how entirely without foundation is the charge thus brought against that eminent man.‡

* Ex Actis Consistorialibus, 136. † Quirini, v. 11.

‡ The above was written when I found the following passage in "A Specimen of the Errors of Burnet, written by the Hand of Henry Wharton under the Pseudonym of Anthony Harmer:"—"I am very unwilling," says Wharton, "to believe that a person of such eminent virtue as Cardinal Pole is by all allowed to have been could be guilty of so base an

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When by partisans on the other side Pole is accused of having hastened Cranmer's death, in his eagerness to obtain possession of the see of Canterbury, we are bound to admit that the charge is equally groundless. The truth is, that Pole could have had no object in expediting the execution of Cranmer; for upon the degradation of Cranmer, the see of Canterbury had become vacant; and, as administrator of the see, Pole was *de facto* primate, endowed with the emoluments, and invested with the authority of the office. It is very doubtful whether he wished for the archbishopric at all; he apparently accepted it only at the request of his sovereign and of the pope. In Pole's view of the subject, the archbishopric would not add to the personal dignity,

action. The truth is, he could have no such design. For it was before shewed that the see of Canterbury had been actually voided immediately upon the attainiture of Cranmer in the end of the year 1553. After his attainiture at home, and deposition and excommunication pronounced at Rome (of which I spoke before), he was dead to the canon as well as the common law. His natural life could be no obstacle to the advancement of Pole to the archbishopric. And, accordingly, that very Pope Paul (of whom the historian maketh Pole to have been so much afraid, lest he should defeat his hope of the archbishopric, if Cranmer's life were not quickly taken away) had, by a bull dated 1555, Decemb. 11, collated or provided Pole to the archbishopric of Canterbury, constituting him administrator of the archbishopric with full power and jurisdiction. Upon the reception and publication of these bulls in England (which was about the beginning of the following month), Pole was, to all intents and purposes, fully possessed of the archbishopric, although he was not consecrated till the 22nd of March following, the day after Cranmer's martyrdom. The historian reneweth this charge against Pole (page 340), but there urgeth the same argument only, namely, his choosing the next day after Cranmer's death for his consecration; which is of no moment, since Cranmer had in his account, and in canon and common law, ceased long since to be Archbishop of Canterbury, and himself had been possessed of the archbishopric above two months."

though it might to the power, of a cardinal ; and in the case of Cardinal Pole not even to his *power*, for he was already all-powerful at court. He was in an infirm state of health, and his habits, we are expressly told, were those of a foreigner. Italy was the place for a valetudinarian ; and that he came to England without an intention of making it his permanent abode, we may fairly infer from the fact, already noticed, that his domestic establishment continued as it was before his arrival, and it was composed of foreigners never acceptable to the English. The object of his life had been to reconcile the Church and Realm of England to the see of Rome, and then to carry out the reformation on a plan of his own.* A man, by a complication of disorders, prematurely old and naturally or from ill-health indolent, he had sacrificed his ease to the gratification of his ambition, and he had accomplished his object. Having done so, he who had retired from the government of Viterbo, may have been desirous of returning to his retirement, thence to contemplate with complacency the work which had caused the gratitude of a pope, a jubilee at Rome, and, it was even hoped, the pacification of Europe. In yielding to the royal wish, that he should accept the primacy of all England, he probably felt that, instead of receiving a favour, he was making a concession.

His views, however, if such they were, must have undergone a change when the papal throne was occupied by Paul IV. ; for when Paul IV. was pope, Italy was no longer a place of safety to Pole. Hence we

* " We may add, that in a council held at Rome, to advise Paul III., in 1537, on the subject of Church reform, and in which Pole sat, it was asserted that no cardinal ought to be a bishop also. Pole must have remembered this when he was desired to take the archbishopric."—*Wolfii Memorand.* ii. 398.

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account for the fact, otherwise unaccountable, that, instead of seeking for an excuse to revisit his beloved Italy, he stipulated, on accepting the primacy, that he should be exonerated from the obligation of paying that periodical visit to Rome to which primates pledged themselves on receiving the pall: he did not choose to go, when he could not be certain whether the Inquisition would permit him to return.

His chief work as a ruler of the Church had been, in truth, accomplished before his consecration to the see of Canterbury. His object in coming to England had been, as we have seen, twofold: first, to reconcile the realm to the pope; and having secured the papal supremacy, then to reform the Church of England, the corruption of which he was the first to admit or even to assert.

He steadily pursued the latter object.

In the year 1553, and in the two years following, convocations were held. In the first, although the Archbishop of Canterbury was in prison, the writ for summoning convocation was addressed to Cranmer by the queen, still styling herself supreme head of the Church of England—that title which Queen Elizabeth refused to accept. At this convocation, which has been noticed in the life of Cranmer, a discussion took place on the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and the dogma of transubstantiation was accepted by the Church of England.*

The second convocation was summoned by a writ to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, *sede archiepiscopali vacante per condemnationem Thomæ Cranmeri*.† It met on the 13th of November, 1554. To this convocation

* Wilkins, iv. 88. Wake, 495. Hughes, i. 461.

† Wake, 496, 601. Strype's Cranmer, i. 495. Memorials, iii. 1253. The see was now vacant; Pole might have been appointed if he had desired it, as is stated at page 298, *supra*.

also allusion has been made before. It was in session when Pole's attainder was cancelled; it sought absolution, which was accorded to the members by the legate at Lambeth.*

On the 22nd of October, 1555, another convocation was held. In this convocation a proposal was made for a revision of the canons.† Instead, however, of carrying out this measure in convocation, it was suggested by his supporters, or proposed by Pole himself, that the reformation of the Church should be conducted in a legatine synod, at which the two convocations of the two provinces of the Church of England might sit in one assembly. The synod was duly convened with the royal permission.* On those days on which the synod did not sit, the two convocations were accustomed to meet for the transaction of business relating to provincial instead of national objects; while all things relating to the reformation of the Church—a national object—were, after the 15th of November, conducted not in convocations but in Pole's legatine council. When, to avoid the penalties of a *præmunire*, a warrant under the great seal had been obtained to hold a synod, the order for its convocation was addressed to the Bishop of London, as Dean of the Province of Canterbury. It was his duty to communicate the order to the bishops of the two provinces of Canterbury and York, and to all others among the clergy who were privileged by their station in the Church to take part in the discussions and votes of a synod.

Of the debates which took place in the synod we have

* I use the words "in session," when speaking of convocation, for the sake of convenience. Strictly speaking, the session of convocation only refers to the day on which it is held,—not as in reference to parliament, which is in session from the day of meeting till the day of prorogation.

† Wake, 496. Wilkins, iv. 120.

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no account, but the result of the discussions is given in an instrument published by Pole on the 8th of May, 1556. It is entitled “*Reformatio Angliæ ex Decretis Reginaldi Poli, Cardinalis Sedis Apostolicæ Legati.*” * It was dated at Lambeth near London, in the diocese of Winchester. Pole did not entertain the vulgar and sectarian notion prevalent in the present day, which would represent the Catholic Church as having been supplanted by a Protestant sect; but, with reference to the Church as it had existed in the reigns of Henry and Edward, he affirms, “That this Church of England, through the misfortune of the past schism” (as its separation from Rome was called), “had been very much deformed, both in doctrine and in practice;” and on these grounds, he introduces another reformation of the said Church. To commemorate the reconciliation of this Church of England with the Church of Rome, he appointed an annual procession to take place on St. Andrew’s day. Provision is made for the instruction of priests in the second decree, which directs that a Latin Bible, and other works proper to their function, be procured for every church, and that all persons reading heretical books without a dispensation should be excommunicated; and, inasmuch as the greatest amount of error had arisen on those points which relate to the headship of the Church and to the sacraments, an abstract is given of the statement made on these subjects at the Council of Florence, under Pope Eugenius IV. The primacy of the Bishop of Rome being first asserted, the decree declares the sacraments to be seven in number. “All these sacraments,” it is said, “have three requisites for their proper accomplish-

* The copy in my possession forms one volume with Pole’s treatise *De Concilio* and his *De Baptismo Constantini*. See also Labbe and Cossart, xiv. 1733; Wilkins, iv. 155. At this council, continued by prorogations till 1557, a translation of the New Testament was ordered.

ment—viz., substance, as constituting the material made use of; words, as being the form of solemnization; and the person who solemnizes the rite with the intention of doing that which the Church does,* of which if any one fail the sacrament is not perfectly accomplished. Among these sacraments there are three—Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders—which impress on the soul an indelible character, that is, a certain spiritual sign distinguished from all others—on which account they are never repeated in the same individual; but the other four do not impress such a character, and admit of repetition.”† With reference to the sacrament of baptism, it is said, “The material of this sacrament is true natural water, nor does it signify whether it be hot or cold. The form is, ‘I baptize thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.’ We do not, however, deny but that true baptism may be effected by these words, ‘Let such a servant of Christ be baptized in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost;’ or ‘Let such an one be baptized by my hands in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.’ Since the chief cause whence baptism has its virtue is the Holy Trinity, while the minister is merely instrumental who delivers the outward sacrament, if the act which is performed through his ministration is accompanied by the express invocation of the Holy Trinity, the

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* That the doctrine of Intention has been purposely misapplied for party purposes, is true; but it is also true that it is often misunderstood. The term was originally adapted to prevent people from regarding the sacraments or other ordinances as magic rites, by their own force efficacious. In times of violence it was necessary to refer to the fact. A priest might be *compelled*, for example, to marry a couple under unlawful circumstances, and the marriage might be set aside, because the priest, under compulsion, did not intend to administer the rite. Many similar cases will occur to the mind.

† Reform of England, p. 13.

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sacrament is accomplished. The minister of this sacrament is the priest who has official competency to baptize. But in case of necessity, not only a priest or a deacon, but even a layman or a woman may baptize ; or even a pagan or Protestant, provided he observes the form of the Church, and intends to do what the Church does."

In speaking of confirmation, it is appointed, that, in addition to the apostolical ordinance of laying on of hands, a certain consecrated ointment should be employed. It is declared, that in the Holy Eucharist, upon the words of consecration, the substance of the bread is turned into the body of Christ, and the substance of the wine into his blood.

The anniversaries of the dedication of churches were to be observed on the first Sunday in October, but all shows, revellings, and intemperance, such as had formerly prevailed, were to be forbidden under ecclesiastical censures, and, in case of necessity, the Church was to apply for the assistance of the secular magistrate.

The third decree has reference to the residence of bishops and of other clerks of inferior ranks, and is very stringent in imposing fines, while a provision is made against pluralities ; but a permission is granted for dispensations under certain circumstances, and by the facility of obtaining dispensations the whole scheme was nullified.

By the fourth decree, the duty of preaching is imposed upon the bishops, by many of whom it had been neglected. The bishops were, moreover, required to instruct their clergy in the art of preaching ; and since in some churches, rectors, vicars, and others having the cure of souls were, through ignorance, incapable of preaching, it was ordered that certain homilies should be prepared which they might read to their congregations. Catechizing was also enjoined.

The fifth decree is concerning the life and respectability

of the clergy, and it commences with the bishops. They are exhorted to live soberly, chastely, and piously.

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“They should not display any pride or pomp, nor use silk clothing, nor costly furniture; their table should be frugal and sparing, whatever be the number of their guests or friends staying with them; there should not be served up to table more than three, or at the most four, kinds of meat, besides fruit and confectionery—for this larger allowance that we make is more from indulgence and consideration of the manners of the age than from approving of it. The other attractions of the table should be charity, the reading of holy books, and pious conversation. Prelates should also abstain from a numerous and superfluous establishment of servants and horses, and should be content with just so many attendants as are needed for the management of the cure intrusted to them, the government of their household, and the daily uses of life. They should also be careful respecting the morals and life of their dependants, since they contract from the vices of others a disgraceful stain of infamy themselves; and should take care that the laymen in their service should dress quietly and respectably, both as to the quality and colour of their garbs. And that this moderation in expense be not attributed to avarice, the whole surplus income of the church, after deductions made for the necessary expenses of themselves and dependants, and for meeting the burdens of the church, should be distributed for the rearing up and nurture of Christ’s poor, for the education of boys and young men in schools and learning, and in other pious works for the glory of God, the good of our neighbour, and the example of others, according to what the blessed Pope Gregory wrote to Bishop Augustine respecting the distribution of Church revenues.”

Rules which were applicable to the bishop were, with due regard to the difference of their circumstances, to be applicable also to the other clergy. But, continues the document—

“In order to remove certain abuses which, in the corruption

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of the past time, have crept into the morals and life of the clergy in this country, we have thought fit to make some special enactments respecting them, as follows :—

“ Since, therefore, according to the enactments of the holy councils and canons, by the ancient and laudable custom of the Church, it is not allowed to persons in the professed regular orders, nor even to the secular clergy, to have wives, yet, nevertheless, many, after uttering their solemn professions and undertaking sacred orders, casting aside the fear of God and His laws, have not scrupled actually to contract marriages, which may be either termed shameless cohabitations, to the greatest disgrace of the religious and of the clerical order, the scandal of the public, and the destruction of their own souls—to provide therefore against the abuse as well in past as in future cases of this nature, we, with the approbation of this same synod, do condemn and reprobate all such marriages actually contracted, as well by persons of the professed religious orders of either sex as also by those of the secular clergy who have arrived at the sacred order of subdeacon inclusively; and we pronounce and declare them to be legally impossible, illicit, and nefarious. And we command all the ordinaries of this realm that they do, by ecclesiastical censures and other remedies of law, separate and disjoin persons of this description, so in point of fact united, and by no means permit them to live together. And that they should proceed with severity, according to the rule of the sacred canons, against all who should defend marriages of this sort, or obstinately persevere in them. And that for the future nothing of the kind be committed, we enact that all the ordinances of the canons, as well general as peculiar to this kingdom, levelled against excesses of this kind, with all the sentences, censures, and penalties contained in them, be fully put in force and execution.

“ Moreover, since many ecclesiastical persons of this realm, and even those holding preferment in the Church and duly constituted in sacred orders, do yet, unmindful of their condition, not only neglect the dress and tonsure suitable to their order, but even involve themselves in worldly pursuits and low and discreditable employments, neither do they keep canonic hours, nor apply to the study of learning, nor do anything else, in short,

which is consistent with their order, to the contempt of sacred laws and to the disgrace of the clerical order: we therefore enact and decree, that whoever in any church holds a prebendal stall, or preferment of whatsoever kind or description, be held to wear the clerical dress and tonsure, according to the sanctions of the canons, and to altogether abstain from all business and occupations unsuitable to the clerical order, or otherwise prohibited by law; and to attend to the canonic hours, and apply to the study of learning, and to do other things suitable to their individual character, and to their order, and to the preferment held by them."

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I have given this passage *in extenso*, because it indicates some of the prevalent errors of the age.

The sixth decree enjoins some wise and practical rules to be observed by bishops with respect to ordination and the examination of candidates for holy orders.

The seventh decree lays down rules against abuses in collations and institutions. Candidates were to procure testimonials from the heads of their colleges.

The eighth and ninth decrees make provisions against the sale, direct or indirect, of livings and other preferments, and against simony in any shape.

The tenth decree, in order to prevent alienation of lands or goods belonging to the Church, requires incumbents to produce terriers and inventories of the episcopal visitations.

The eleventh decree makes regulations for the greater efficacy of schools attached to cathedrals and other religious houses.

The twelfth decree lays down certain wise rules to be observed in the visitation of churches.

Such was the reformation of our Church proposed by Reginald Pole: far different from what might have been expected from him, for doctrinal subjects are carefully avoided; and it was known, that on one great dogma, that

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of justification by faith only, Pole's opinions accorded with those of Luther. But, although much pusillanimity was evinced on his part, in avoiding instead of asserting the truth, it is remarkable that there is no reference to those doctrines which have become the peculiar, and therefore the sectarian, doctrines of the modern Romish sect.

The reader will be interested in having a *résumé* of the proceedings of the Church of England, at this time, from the pen of Pole himself. On the 7th of November, 1555, he sent the following despatch to Rome from "The Palace of St. James's, near London."

"From the Cardinal Pole to the Cardinal Caraffa.

"As your lordship will have already heard, a convocation of the prelates of the kingdom has been summoned, both for the sake of making arrangements concerning the ecclesiastical property ceded by the crown, as also to remedy other defects and disorder introduced amongst the clergy, through the corruption and bad government of these past times; and thus, by means of this parliament, and without causing inconvenience or expense to the prelates, we have, by God's grace, now commenced the said convocation. On last Monday, the 4th, a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost was chaunted by the Bishop of London in the chapel of the Royal Palace, after which the usual ceremonies were performed as customary at the commencement of synod. We then adjourned to a hall of the said palace, which was arranged for this purpose, both because I am lodged here, near the most serene queen, and also because my Lord of Winchester, who is very grievously indisposed, and resides in the same palace, may attend. On this first day nothing was done, save an explanation to the bishops and others of the clergy who were likewise admitted concerning the causes of this convocation, and which I myself made. All evinced every readiness to do what was required for God's service and for the spiritual welfare of this kingdom. All the bishops will have to give particular ac-

count as well of the wants of their respective dioceses as of the means of supplying such. The first act will be the restoration of the said property to each despoiled church, orders being given for the people's service and that they may reap fruit thence; and according to the commission given me by a brief of his holiness, I have ordered the churches to be taxed afresh, and notice shall be duly given of all that may be treated and ordained. I wrote to your most illustrious lordship, in my last of the 26th ult., of the meeting of the parliament, wherein my lord the chancellor stated her majesty's want of some subsidy from the kingdom, which has been conceded very readily and without contradiction from any one, and will amount to a million of gold, payable from the laity in two years, and in four from the clergy, which contributes willingly to this subsidy, the said contribution being very ancient and usual in this kingdom. I believe the parliament will terminate before Christmas; and should anything else be done therein worthy the notice of our lord, advice shall be given to his holiness, whose most holy feet I kiss with all due reverence, recommending myself humbly to the good grace of your most illustrious and most reverend lordship."*

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In the *Reformatio* Pole had described himself as, by Divine compassion, Cardinal Deacon † of the Holy Roman

* Hardy's Report upon Venetian Archives, p. 57. For this letter we are indebted to Mr. Rawdon Brown, who has translated it from the MSS. in St. Mark's Library, Venice, No. 24, Class 10.

† All cardinals are authorized to use the pontificals within their titles, to bless solemnly like bishops, and, if they are presbyters, to administer the tonsure and the lower orders. In their own college, cardinal bishops rank first, while cardinal presbyters and cardinal deacons rank according to the date of their appointments. The oldest cardinal bishop residing in Rome is Dean of the College of Cardinals. The college is the pope's council in all important cases, *causæ majores consistoriales*, especially in *causæ episcopales*, in which the pope must consult them. In a note appended to a former volume, the date of the honours conferred upon them has been given, but it may be convenient to repeat here, that they alone are eligible to the papacy and to elect the pope, the former by a synodical decree of Stephen III., 769, the latter by one of Nicholas II., 1509. They received the hat with the

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Church of St. Mary in Cosmo, Legate a latere of our Most Sacred Lord the Pope and of the Apostolic See: he was now created under the same title Cardinal Priest.*

The elevation of Pole in the court of Rome did not, of course, advance him to the order of a priest in the Catholic Church. Consequently it became necessary that he should be ordained to the priesthood before he could be consecrated as archbishop. He had been previously elected to the primacy by the Chapter of Canterbury, acting, then as now, under a *congé d'élire* rendered nugatory by a royal mandate; then as now, if the refractory chapter had disobeyed the mandate, the members would have been subjected to the penalties of a *præmunire*.

In the mean time, Cardinal Pole went with the court to Greenwich. I shall have occasion hereafter to refer more particularly to the subject of the persecutions by which this reign has been for ever disgraced: I will only mention here, that the persecutions had already commenced, and that they were beginning to make that impression

red tassels from Innocent IV., 1245; the purple cloak from Paul II., 1464, and the title of "Eminence" from Urban VIII., 1630. One is surprised to find Collier speaking of Pole as "His Eminence;" in all the contemporary documents that I have seen, he is spoken of as "His Most Reverend Lordship."—Ferraris, lib. c. art. ii. Nero, 13.

* "Ex Actis Consistorialibus. Romæ die xi. Mensis Decembris, MDLV., fuit consistorium, in quo proponente Sanctitate Sua, deputavit administratorem Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, tunc per privationem Thomæ Cranmeri olim Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, nuper Apostolica auctoritate factam vacantis, Reverendissimum Dominum Reginaldum Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin Diaconum Cardinalem Polum nuncupatum, Sedis Apostolicæ in Regno Angliæ de Latere Legatum ad ejus vitam, ita quod liceat sibi de fructibus, &c. Et cum retentione omnium, &c. Insuper creavit eundem Reverendissimum Reginaldum in Presbyterum Cardinalem, ita quod propterea Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ, quæ denominatio sui Cardinalatus erat, præesse non desinat, sed illius Præsul, et presbyter Cardinalis existat."—Quirini, v. 142.

upon the public mind which rendered the reaction that had taken place in favour of Mary's government so short-lived.

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On the 4th of February, 1555, John Rogers nobly sealed his faith by his blood; Bishop Hooper had suffered at Gloucester; Bishop Taylor at Hadleigh; Laurence Sanders at Coventry; Bishop Ferrar at St. David's;—there were other burnings in different parts of the country. We are not to suppose that Mary and her courtiers took pleasure in these severities; on the contrary, they lamented that they were, in their opinion, a necessity; but they would have regarded themselves as culpably negligent of duty, if they had abstained from taking the necessary precautions. They felt, as the government of George III. may be supposed to have felt when his ministers called upon the sovereign to sign the mandate for the execution of a forger, lest the commerce of the country should be damaged. But men were beginning to understand, that while we can refrain our hand from an evil action, we cannot concede our assent to a dogma; while to give that assent, with a mental reservation, is hypocrisy. There was, however, an instinctive feeling that the thing was wrong, before the dictate of the heart was confirmed by the conclusions of reason. Men can, to the present time, indulge their malignant feelings against those who differ from them in opinion; but when the arrows they shoot are only bitter words, they see not the misery they occasion; though, in sensitive natures, it is sometimes very great; and not seeing the effect of their cruelty, they are not filled with the disgust that would most assuredly be excited, if the flame were seen to be consuming in torture the limbs of their opponents.

Already disturbances in different parts of the country

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had given token of discontent. The ill-feeling which had, from the arrival of Philip, existed between the English and Spaniards increased, and an attempt was made to excite a revolt by a youth who personated Edward VI. The discontent, however, manifested itself chiefly in murmurs, to which, in the absence of an organized police, the court itself, as it passed through London, was occasionally exposed. A contemporary tells us that, when the court was passing to Greenwich, he was standing in Cheapside; "and I saw these four," he said, "ride through Cheap—King Philip, Queen Mary, Cardinal Pole, and Stephen Gardyner, Chancellor of England. This bishop rode on the one side, afore King Philip, and the great seal afore him; and on the other side, there rode the queen and the cardinal afore her, with a cross carried afore him, he being all in scarlet, and blessing the people as he rode through the City, for the which he was greatly laughed to scorn; and Gardyner, being greatly offended, on the other side, because the people did not put off their caps, and made curse to the cross that was carried afore the cardinal, saying to his servants, 'Mark that house;' 'Take this knave, and bear him to the counter;' 'Such sort of heretics who ever saw, that will neither reverence the cross of Christ, nor yet once say so much as God save the king and queen? I will teach them to do both, an I live.' This did I hear him say, I standing at Sopar Lane end." *

Except from these occasional insults, sufficient to show that the great body of the middle class did not endorse

* Autobiography of Thomas Mowntayne. His statement must be received with some allowance. He was an enemy of Gardyner, and was obliged to fly the country, being accused of heresy and treason. What he said was no doubt true, but only partially so. Gardyner was evidently an irritable man, whose angry feelings were easily excited. This will in part account for his extreme unpopularity. See also Machyn's Diary, p. 93; and Chronicles of Grey Friars, p. 96.

the proceedings of the government, the court passed through London unmolested, and took barge at the Tower-wharf for Greenwich.

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The manor of Greenwich had been for a long period the favourite residence of the English royal family. When the high road to Westminster was the Thames, Greenwich was to the court what Windsor, since the invention of railroads, has now become. Here Henry VII. was born; and here, too, he was married to Katharine of Aragon. Greenwich was the scene of the splendid festivities which rendered popular the earlier period of his reign. Into the convent adjoining the palace Katharine would, in her happy days, retire, from time to time, for the purposes of devotion; and in her hours of sorrow, she found in the prior and brethren her steadiest supporters. John Forest, her confessor, was a friar of this house; and through his influence the Franciscans generally maintained her cause, when the subject of the divorce had become a question of national interest. The convent, consisting of a prior and twelve brethren, had been founded by Henry VIII.; and they were strict observers of the original rule of St. Francis, whence they derived their peculiar designation of Observants, or Recollects. The rule of the Franciscan order having been gradually relaxed, the discipline was restored by the Observant Friars in the fifteenth century; after which time those of the brethren who did not conform to this reformation of the order were known as Conventuals. The conduct of the brethren at the convent at Greenwich, in upholding the cause of the queen, provoked the anger of Henry VIII.; and in 1534 the house was suppressed. The convent was re-instated in its possessions, and the house was repaired, by the grateful daughter of Katharine, who herself sought that sympathy from the brethren

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which they had always extended to her persecuted mother.*

The anguish of Mary at parting with her husband was acute ; and the court had, at this time, come to Greenwich, that Philip might there take his departure for the Continent. Philip, as we shall presently have occasion to remark, ere he left the country, intrusted the queen to the friendly care of Pole. When the king had departed, Queen Mary sought, by a strict attendance at the services of the convent, to console her mind, which was agitated by jealous misgivings, and by the fear that, in spite of his promises, she should never see her husband more. She was present when here in the convent of the Minorites, or Observant Friars of the order of St. Francis, Reginald Pole was first ordained priest and afterwards consecrated a bishop.

Circumstances had occurred, to which more particular attention will be called hereafter, which tended at this period of his life to sour the mind of Pole. The melancholy scene which he now witnessed in the anguish of the queen, might have inclined him to indulge his own inclination to leniency, but he was met by the stern resolution of Mary to put down heresy as an act of duty. She received much of her present sorrow as a punishment for the culpable leniency of the early part of her reign. It was quite possible that Mary may have been naturally of a merciful disposition, and that she would have shrunk from being an eye-witness of suffering ; but her character in this respect is easily understood by those whose duty in life it has been to mark the inconsistencies of human nature. She would argue herself out of what she would regard as a weakness or as criminal compassion, by giving an unhesitating answer to the question, What is my duty ?

* Tanner, Notit. Monast. Stevens, contin. Dugdale.

“My duty,” she would say, “as a Christian queen, is to uphold the cause of religion, by mild measures if possible ; if mild measures will not suffice, then by severe.” The Church was in danger, as in the days of her father and brother, and from what cause? from the impunity of heresy. “Let heretics, therefore, be extirpated : win them by argument, if you can, to the side of true religion ; but if you cannot succeed by argument, regard them as the enemies of the King of kings and Lord of lords, and deal with them according to the law.” It was under the influence of feelings and principles such as these, that Pole wrote the offensive letter to Archbishop Cranmer, which has been presented to the reader in the life of that eminent prelate.

The administrators of the law were no doubt unnecessarily stern, but it was the law itself rather than those whose duty it is to enforce it, that was most to blame.

We have before remarked, that, according to the principles of Pole, the see of Canterbury was vacant by the degradation of Archbishop Cranmer ; and this was admitted by the Chapter of Canterbury, for the election of Reginald Pole to the metropolitan see must have taken place while Cranmer was still living. But for some reason or other, Pole had determined not to be either ordained or consecrated while Dr. Cranmer lived. As soon, however, as the iniquitous sentence of an unconstitutional court had been carried into effect, and Archbishop Cranmer was burned, Pole immediately prepared, first, for his ordination, and then for his consecration. Although everything was conducted as privately as circumstances would permit, yet the circumstances of the time were such as to require much preparation. It was not with the facilities afforded by railroads that seven bishops—this was the number which attended Pole’s consecration

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—could be brought together from distant parts of the country. Great men, moreover, at that time, travelled in state, and each bishop was attended by his suite. They might easily drop down in their barges from London to Greenwich, but it required time for them to travel from their dioceses to the metropolis.

These observations are made, that justice may be done to Pole. We must attribute it, at least in part, to his good taste and proper feeling, that his consecration was conducted so privately. Although he was stern as a judge, his whole history shows him to have been a man of kindly feelings; and although he was, as he thought, compelled to carry into effect the awful sentence pronounced upon his predecessor, we may imagine that he pitied the sufferer, though he gave vent to his anger and insolence when writing to the reputed heretic. He would not celebrate the burning of the primate of all England by holding a high festival the day after his execution. The court, too, after the departure of the king, was not in humour to indulge in festivities. Mary attended the consecration, but not in state.

Reginald Pole, a Roman cardinal, was ordained a presbyter of the Church of England, in Grey Friars church, on the 20th of March, 1556. The next day he officiated as a priest; and on the 22nd of March, he was duly consecrated by the Archbishop of York, assisted by six suffragans of the province of Canterbury. On the day following his consecration, Pole took the oath of allegiance to the pope in the parlour of the convent and in the presence of the Queen of England. The queen, attended by her courtiers, including Lord Paget, well known as a reformer, received the communion in the chapel of the monastery, the Archbishop of York, primate of England and metropolitan, being the celebrant.

It has been sometimes supposed, that Reginald Pole was consecrated under the ordinal of Edward VI. ; but, to say nothing of the antecedent improbability of this having been the case, such a consecration, though valid, would not, at that time, have been considered legal.

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The ordinal adopted by the Church of England in the reign of Edward VI. came into use on the 1st of April, 1550 ; and was declared legal by Act of Parliament in 1552,*—that is to say, while the Church declared ordinations and consecrations under this ordinal to be valid, the state, regarding the Church as an establishment, pronounced them to be lawful ; so that the person ordained or consecrated had a legal right to the emoluments of any benefice to which he might be appointed. But in the first year of Mary, this act of King Edward was repealed, and those only could claim the emoluments of a benefice who were either ordained or consecrated under the form in vogue in the reign of Henry VIII. ; or who, having been ordained under Edward's ordinal, had subsequently taken the oath of allegiance to the pope. Ordinations and consecrations under the ordinal of Edward, unless under this condition, were no longer legal, but they were nevertheless admitted, even by the Roman authorities, to be valid. If a man had been ordained under the reformed ordinal, it was not required of him that he should be re-ordained ; the validity of his ordination was accepted, but he was required to perform certain additional acts under the requisition of a law newly enacted. A man, for example, nominated and elected to preside as bishop over an English diocese, if consecrated already under the reformed ordinal, was regarded as a bishop ; but he would be required to do what Pole did, to take an oath of allegiance to the pope, before he became a diocesan. Persons so

* 5 & 6 Edward VI. c. 1, § 6.

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ordained were said to be reconciled to the Church, or rehabilitated. We may mention, for example, the case of Story. He had been consecrated under the form of Edward's ordinal; and when he was restored to the exercise of his office by Dr. Bonner, Bishop of London, he was so restored without any new ordination. The act of restoration may still be seen in Bonner's registry, and has been published by Dr. Elrington. That Bonner considered it to be unnecessary to re-ordain those who had been ordained by the reformed ritual, is evident from the 29th article set forth to be inquired into at his general visitation in 1554, and which runs thus: "Whether any who had been ordained schismatically, *being not yet reconciled nor admitted by the ordinary*, have celebrated Divine service?" Here we find, as in the case of Story, they were to be reconciled, not re-ordained. By the consecration or ordination they were made priests and bishops of the Catholic Church; but it was assumed that they had erred and become schismatical by withholding their allegiance from the Bishop of Rome, to whom they were reconciled when they took the oath of allegiance.*

This subject is an important one, and will come under more particular consideration when we arrive at the life of Archbishop Parker; but it cannot be entirely passed over in the biography of Pole, for one of the difficult problems he was called upon to solve, related to the mode of dealing with persons ordained and consecrated, as he would say, in the time of the schism, that is, in the reigns of Henry and Edward. Whatever Pole did was done under directions received from Rome; and consequently, when Pole admitted the validity of orders under the ordinal of Edward, the validity of those orders was admitted by the pope. Before his own consecration, and

* See Burnet's Records, pt. ii. bk. ii.

while he was only administrator of the see of Canterbury, this difficulty presented itself to the mind of Pole. It will not therefore be an unpardonable digression if we bring the subject under the notice of the reader now, when our attention is called to the consecration of Pole himself.

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We are aware that the Romanists of modern times, for the purpose of insulting the English Church, re-baptize and re-ordain those who are perverted; but this was not done until comparatively modern times.* We have already mentioned that, by acting in obedience to an injunction of Mary, Bishop Bonner directed, that persons ordained under the reformed ordinal, should not be re-ordained, but that they should only be re-habilitated. The injunction was issued under the direction of Pole, to whom a plenary power was given by Pope Julius III. to reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome. In reference to the bishops ordained in the time of Edward, there is no mention whatever made of re-ordaining. The sole object kept in view at that time, was to re-instate them, or to reconcile them. No distinction is made between the bishops ordained under the pontifical in the time of Henry VIII. and those ordained according to Edward's ritual.

* The earliest instance occurred in 1704, when John Gordon, a Scotch bishop (Bishop of Galloway), as Elrington expresses it, "apostatized to the Romish creed." He petitioned the pope to be re-ordained, and stated at length the motives of his application. This application is valuable, for it confirms the historical statement, that until that time our orders were regarded as valid by the very persons most interested in establishing their nullity. The application of Gordon is given by Le Quien, tom. ii. 68. See also Elrington, p. 140; Harrington, *Validity of English Ordination* admitted by the Bull of Julius III. p. 47. We must add the fact that no record whatever of re-ordination at this time remains in the registries searched for the purpose.

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Pope Julius III., admitting the validity of the English orders, says in the bull :—

“After they shall have been restored by you to the unity of the holy mother Church, and you shall have thought good to re-instate them, if in other respects they shall appear to you worthy and fit, . . . over cathedral, even metropolitan churches, as bishops and archbishops, they may freely and lawfully preside, and the same churches in spirituals and temporals rule and govern, and the gift of consecration already bestowed upon them use.”

“In order,” says Courayer, “even to anticipate all difficulties, the bull takes notice of the case of a sacerdotal ordination performed contrary to the laws—though valid, yet illegal,* and gives the legate power to dispense with it. Also with any who by you for the time have been absolved and re-instated, as aforesaid, that—their past errors and excesses notwithstanding—over any cathedral, even metropolitan churches, as bishops and archbishops, they may freely and lawfully be appointed and preside, and the same in the said spirituals and temporals rule and govern ; and to any, even sacred and priestly orders advance, and in the same, or orders by them already, though irregularly, received, even in the ministry of the altar serve, and the gift of consecration receive, and the same freely and lawfully use, that you may freely and lawfully dispense, we grant you by these presents full and free apostolic authority, permission, and power.”†

* We may understand the difference by adverting to what has occurred in our time. A few years ago it was not lawful for a bishop of the Church in the United States of America to officiate in England. If he had performed any office—if, for example, he had administered either sacrament—the act would have been valid, for of the validity of his orders there could be no question ; but for acting contrary to the law, he, as a transgressor of the law, might have been punished.

† “Nec non cum quibusvis per te, ut præmittitur, pro tempore abso-

“For what could these words,” says Courayer, “*licet minus ritè susceptis Ordinibus*—Orders even irregularly received—mean, if not, that in conferring the priesthood, essentials excepted, which are always supposed, the ordinary laws of the Church were not observed? Nevertheless, under this hypothesis, he permits the legate to re-instate them, and these priests, thus re-instated, to serve in their order, and to have episcopal consecration without receiving the priesthood anew. Can there be anything more direct on this head?”*

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We may be permitted to close this subject by referring to what occurred in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. If by the papists the validity of English orders, that is, of orders conferred under Edward’s ritual,† was admitted in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we cannot doubt, supposing even that we had nothing further to say, that their validity was admitted in the time of Cardinal Pole.

We are informed on the highest authority, that Pope Pius IV. made an overture to Queen Elizabeth‡ of approving the Book of Common Prayer, and consequently of

lutis et rehabilitatis, ut eorum erroribus et excessibus præteritis non obstantibus, quibusvis Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis ecclesiis in Episcopos et Archiepiscopos præfici et præesse, illasque in eisdem spiritualibus et temporalibus regere et gubernare ac ad quoscunque etiam sacros et presbyteratûs ordines promovere, et in illis, aut per eos jam licet minus ritè susceptis Ordinibus etiam in Altaris Ministerio ministrare necnon munus consecrationis suscipere, et illo uti liberè et licitè valeant, dispensare etiam liberè et licitè possis, plenam et liberam Apostolicam auctoritatem per præsentis concedimus facultatem et potestatem.”

* Courayer, On English Ordinations, p. 234.

† The ordinal of Edward was restored by Elizabeth, but the Reformation was not complete in her times. The ordinal we now use, of the date of Charles II., though substantially the same, differs in a few particulars.

‡ Twisden says, “I myself have received it (the story) from such as I cannot doubt of it, they having had it from persons of high relation unto them who were actors in the managing of the business.” The

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the Liturgy and Ordinal, which are parts of it, provided that priests would return to the obedience of the Roman see.

reader may like to see the whole passage, which runs thus :—"The queen's moderation was better received at Rome than at home ; where the pope, however, a violent heady man, considering, no doubt, his own loss in breaking off all commerce with so potent a kingdom, began to hearken to terms of accommodation, and was content things *should stand as they are*, the queen acknowledging his primacy, and the Reformation from him. But his death ensuing the 18th of August, 1559, left the design to be prosecuted by his successor Pius IV., who, by letters (sent by Vincentius Parpalia, a person of great experience, employed by Cardinal Poole in his former negotiations, and of late in that hither) of the 5th of May, 1560, directed *Charissimæ in Christo filiæ Elizabethæ Reginae Angliæ*, did assure her *Omnia de nobis tibi pollicere, quæ non modo ad animæ tuæ salutem conservandam, sed etiam ad dignitatem regiam stabiliendam et confirmandam, pro autoritate pro loco ac munere quod nobis a Deo commissum fuit, a nobis desiderares*, &c. Upon this, and their relations who then lived and had part in the action, the English affirm Pius IV. would have confirmed the Liturgy of the Church of England : and, indeed, how can any imagine other ? For doubtless nothing could have been more to her dishonour, than so suddenly to have changed what she had with so great consideration established, and the pope assuring her she might promise herself from him all he could do. I know not what less or other he could expect she would ask. But where Sir Edward Cook, in his Charge at Norwich, as it is now printed, says this offer came from Pius V., I conceive it a mistake, and should have been Pius IV. (as, in another place, he names Clement IX., who yet never was, for Clement VIII.) ; and the rest of the narration there not to be without absurdities, and to be one of those deserves the author's censure, when he says there is no one period in the whole expressed in the sort and sense that he delivered it ; for certainly Pius V., from his coming to the popedom 1566, rather sought, by raising against her foreign power abroad, and domestic commotions at home, to force her to his obedience, than by such civil ways as we now speak of to allure her ; though *the thing itself is no question true*, however the person that offered it be mistaken in some circumstances. They that make a difficulty in believing this, object it to have been first divulged 1606, forty-six years after the proffer of it ; that Sir Edward Cook averred to have received it from the queen herself, not then alive to contradict him. But for my part I confess I find no scruple in it, for I have ever observed the wisdom of that court, to give

The offer could not, of course, have been made unless the pope had admitted, that there was nothing heretical,

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what it could neither sell nor keep; as Paulus IV. did the kingdom of Ireland to Queen Mary, admitted the five bishoprics erected by her father, approved the dissolution of the monasteries made by him, &c., of which nature no question this was. For the being first mentioned forty-six years after, that is not so long a time but many might remember; and I myself have received it from such as I cannot doubt of it, they having had it from persons of high relation unto them who were actors in the managing of the business. Besides, the thing itself was in effect printed many years before; for he that made the answer to Saunders his seventh book, *De Visibili Monarchia*—who, it seems, had been very careful to gather the beginnings of Queen Elizabeth that there might be an exact history of her, *tandem aliquando, quia omnia acta diligenter observavit, qui summis Reipublicæ negotiis consulto interfuit*—relates it thus: That a nobleman of this country, being about the beginning of the queen's reign at Rome, Pius IV. asked him of her majesty's casting his authority out of England, who made answer that she did it being persuaded by testimonies of Scripture, and the laws of the realm, *nullam illius esse in terra aliena jurisdictionem*. Which the pope seemed not to believe, her majesty being wise and learned, but did rather think the sentence of that court against her mother's marriage to be the true cause, which he did promise not only to retract, *sed in ejus gratiam quæcunque possum præterea facturum, dum illa ad nostram Ecclesiam se recipiat, et debitum mihi primatus titulum reddat*; and then adds, *extant adhuc apud nos articuli Abbatis Sanctæ Salutis (Parpalia) manu conscripti; extant Cardinalis Moronæ literæ, quibus nobilem illum vehementer hortabatur, ut eam rem nervis omnibus apud reginam nostram sollicitaret; extant hodie nobilium nostrorum aliquot, quibus Papa multa aureorum millia pollicitus est, ut istius amicitie atque fœderis inter Romanam Cathedram et Elizabetham serenissimam authores essent*. This I have cited the more at large, for that Camden seems to think, what the abbot of St. Saviour propounded was not in writing, and because it was printed seven years before the Cardinal Morone's death, by whose privity (as protector of the English) this negotiation passed, without any contradiction from Rome, there can no doubt be made of the truth of it. And assuredly, some who have convenience and leisure may find more of it than hath been yet divulged: for I no way believe the Bishop of Winchester would have been induced to write, it did *constare* of Paulus IV., nor the queen herself and divers others of those times, persons of honour and worth (with

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though there was much which a Romanist would regard as defective, in our Prayer Book; but the point to be observed is that the validity of our orders is taken for granted. The principle admitted by two popes, and on which Pole acted, is asserted by the learned Bossuet. We have the attestation of M. Caldaguez, precentor of Montferrand, that in 1699 Bossuet said in his presence, that "if the English were to renounce their schism, their clergy would need nothing except to be *reconciled to the Church and rehabilitated*;" and he added that he had expressed himself in this manner before the king.*

Sir William Palmer produces other testimonies to the same effect. The fact is, that for some time after the

some of which I myself have spoken), have affirmed it for an undoubted truth, did not somewhat more remain (or at least had formerly been) than a single letter of Pius IV., which apparently had reference to matters of greater privacy. And there I hold it not unworthy a place, that I myself, talking some time with an Italian gentleman (versed in public affairs) of this offer from the pope, he made much scruple of believing it; but it being in a place where books were at hand, I shewed him on what ground I speak, and asked him if he thought men could be devils to write such an odious lie, had it not been so. 'Well,' says he, '*if this were heard in Rome amongst religious men it would never gain credit, but with such as have in their hands the Maneggi della Corte*' (Transactions of the Court)—for that was his expression—'*it may be held true.*'" (Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism, p. 175.) He that made answer to Saunders's Seventh Book, above referred to, was Dr. Bartholomew Clerke, styled by Soames (History of Reformation, vol. iv. p. 725, note S.) "a respectable contemporary authority, who had excellent means of information, and who appeals to existing vouchers, both documentary and personal, that some papal concession was to be expected beyond the recognition of Elizabeth's legitimacy." The title of Clerke's reply is "Fidelis Servi subito Infideli Responsio, cum examinatione errorum N. Sanderi in Libro de Visibilis Ecclesiæ Monarchia." Soames also quotes the passage in the charge relative to this question, without implying the slightest doubt as to its authenticity.—History of Reformation, vol. iv. p. 726.

* Courayer, Défense de la Dissertation, § 1.

Reformation, the desire was to effect a reunion, and the inclination was, on the part of Rome, to make concessions. When the hope of reunion was abandoned, it was found that the surest method of perverting men's minds was to attack the validity of our orders; and then the monstrous lie of the Nag's Head consecration was invented, the consideration of which must be deferred until we come to the life of Parker.

Returning to our narrative, we have now to mention, that Pole was prevented from going to Canterbury immediately after his consecration, and consequently he was enthroned by proxy; one of the canons, Dr. Collins, being his commissary. Pole, as we shall hereafter see, had substantial reasons for wishing, at this time, to retire from public life; and if he had gone to Canterbury, he would probably have permitted himself to be absorbed in his duties as a diocesan; and to London he would have been unwilling to return. Canterbury would have been to him in England what Viterbo had been in Italy. The queen, however, entreated him to remember that to him, as primate of all England, not one diocese only, but the care of all the churches, was assigned. The state of both queen and country was such, indeed, that the desertion of Mary by Pole at this juncture would have amounted to cruelty. Gardyner was dead; King Philip had left England; public feeling in London, as we have just seen, was anything but satisfactory; many parts of the country were ripe for rebellion if a leader should appear; reports came in from various quarters, of the severities exercised in the name of religion; burnings were still going on, which, instead of intimidating the multitude, surrounded the sufferers with a halo of glory, and sent people to their Bibles, to ascertain whether the doctrines for which even the weak had strength to die a

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martyr's death, were not, in very deed, the doctrines of truth, however condemnatory they might be of the practices of a corrupt age. But this was not all: crime was increasing; highway robberies and the vilest offences were rife; men of rank sometimes shared in the plunder, if they were not found, as in the case of Prince Hal and his associates in a former age, on the highway themselves. Although the law was enforced in all its terror—sometimes fifty poor wretches being left for execution when the judge quitted an assize town—yet crime was not repressed. In many parts of the country, the pestilence destroyed those whom the law and persecution passed by; the treasury was exhausted, and a general loan was demanded. Pole could not desert the queen at such a crisis; and he determined, therefore, to receive the pallium in London.

Cardinal Pole attached much importance to the reception of the pall. His predecessor, Dr. Cranmer, had ceased to wear it, for he regarded it as a badge of Rome; and for this very reason, in the mind of Pole, devoted as he was to the papacy, it obtained a peculiar value.* By the Church he had been constituted primate of all England; but Pole thought that, before he exercised his functions, he ought to receive the sanction of the Bishop of Rome; and this sanction was conveyed through the pallium.

The ceremony of receiving the pall was appointed to take place in Bow Church—a church which has witnessed many ceremonies of the English Church, in consequence of its being one of the peculiars of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and on that account, though not locally yet eccle-

* The truth, in this as in other respects, dawned upon Cranmer's mind gradually, for I find that he gave a pall to Holdgate, Archbishop of York, in 1545; that is, after the breach with Rome.

siastically, in his diocese. Such a length of time had elapsed, however, since a ceremony of this kind had taken place, that by the novelty of the proceedings it attracted public attention.

Great preparations were made for the solemnity, which was appointed to take place on the Feast of the Annunciation.* The church was hung with cloth of gold and rich arras, and cushions were prepared for the magnates in Church and State. The archbishop entered the church, attended by six bishops arrayed in their pontificals, and wearing their mitres. A long train of nobles and privy councillors followed; the courtiers flocking to the place where homage was to be done to the man whom the queen delighted to honour. On entering the church, the archbishop was met by certain of the chief parishioners, when a requisition was placed in his hands, praying him to commence his duties as archbishop, "by giving some spiritual food to those souls which God had intrusted to his charge." It was probably the request of certain Protestants, who either really wished to hear, or who desired to put his powers to the test. "His most reverend lordship," we are told, signified his readiness to accede to the request, and when he had reached his seat, the service commenced. The Bishop of Worcester sang the Mass, and at the proper time the archbishop, though entirely unprepared, rose in his place, and addressed the congregation. We expect to find a certain amount of self-laudation in every writing of Pole; and he commenced the sermon with reference to himself, but in a manner not at all offensive. "On entering this church, for a purpose which I had desired might be explained in a sermon, the parishioners presented me with a paper, praying me with great earnestness and affection to perform this act in person, and to commence my

* Stubbs, p. 141. Reg. Pol. Machyn's Diary, p. 102.

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ministry by affording spiritual food to those souls committed to my care. I have not only resolved not to deny a demand so reasonable, but have even derived the greatest consolation thence, remembering that in my life's whole course, none of my actions have ever yielded me greater satisfaction than those to which the Divine Majesty has now deigned to call me, and whose execution, as in this instance, conduced to God's honour and glory, feeding thus the souls of those committed to my charge. Amongst these, perchance, there may be some who will listen to me out of curiosity, or to comment on what I say; and to such I shall observe, that any other learned and accomplished man would satisfy them vastly better than my powers permit. But there may also be some who will listen to me for the pure love of God's word, and these I am ready to satisfy; nor will I ever brook that, from any defect of mine, there be applied to me those words of Holy Writ, concerning the people of Israel: '*Parvuli petierunt panem, et non erat qui eis frangeret.*' Neither will I imitate those masters who, eating white bread themselves, give bread, black and unsuited, to their servants. I shall give to you the same that I myself am used to eat; and this bread is nothing but God's Word, which, received in the form and sense wherein offered, produces miraculous effects, and bears the fruit of life for him who embraces it, and, as it is written: '*Tamquam imber qui descendet de cœlo, et illuc ultra non revertitur, sed inebriat terram et infundit eam, et germinare eam facit.*' You must know that the cause of my coming here was induced by my having been appointed legate, many months since, by the holiness of the pope—who is Christ's vicar, and the supreme head of His Church upon earth—for the sake of reconciling this kingdom to God, from whom it was so miserably severed, like a limb from the

head. And in order to reunite it, and restore it to obedience to the apostolic chair, I am now again newly sent as legate to this church of Canterbury in particular, and to all those dependent on its diocese. As this is the first time of my entering any church subject to my care, I imagine that you will not expect of me any other sermon or discourse, since I merely came to take the archiepiscopal *pallium*; it having indeed been my intention, having given my orders to this effect, to receive it in the principal church of my diocese; but being prevented on several accounts, I was compelled to receive the investiture here."

Then he entered upon the subject he always had before him—the advancement of the papal cause—by proceeding to explain the ceremony and signification of the pallium, drawing much from his own imagination, while he seemed to be instructing his audience in a matter of history. He asserted, in spite of historical statements to the contrary, that no archbishop, in any age, ventured to perform the functions which, by his consecration, he was empowered to perform, until he had received authority so to do from the pope, whose authority was signified by the transmission of the pallium. The object is to promote the cause of union and peace in the Church; and "although," he continues, "in bygone times it has been greatly disturbed by certain archbishops and patriarchs, nevertheless, it has ever been seen for a notable example, that those who acted thus, together with the countries committed to their government, have been by God most severely punished—as were the patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, who, having strayed from this unity, passed, by God's just judgment, under the cruel tyranny and insupportable yoke of the Turks, which bears on them so wretchedly, and since so long a while. The like was also manifested, too, clearly in the persons of the

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archbishops of Ravenna, who greatly opposed this unity ; but finally perceiving their error, were reconciled to and rejoined the head. Thus, then, an archbishop cannot exercise the power with which he is invested on his consecration, until he receive permission to this effect from Christ's vicar by means of this *pallium*." He affirmed that the pall is from St. Peter's body, and is afterwards forwarded to each archbishop after his consecration. "The pall is made," he continued to say, "of this lowly material, and in the form of a cross, to form a contrast to the rich ornaments of gold and jewels usually worn by archbishops." He regarded it as symbolical, showing that their power and authority, received through Christ's vicar, proceeds and is derived from that immaculate Lamb, of which it is written in the Apocalypse: "Dignus est Agnus Qui occisus est accipere virtutem et honorem et gloriam." While he was dwelling on the blessings of peace, both speaker and audience were moved to tears ; and he showed that peace could only be secured by obedience to the Divine will, while he pointed to the Virgin Mary, whose festival it was, as a special example of such obedience.*

It is to be remarked, that in alluding to the punishments in which those metropolitans and their churches were involved who thought scorn of the papal pall, an admission was unconsciously made that, in neglecting the pall, other churches have been concerned as well as our own.

Although statements were made the truth of which Pole could not substantiate, yet the sermon, considering the circumstances under which it was delivered, does not,

* I take the sermon as it is reported by Marc Antonio Faitta to the Doctor in Divinity, Ippolito Chizzuola, translated by Mr. Rawdon Brown from a manuscript in St. Mark's Library, No. 24, Class 10. It is in Italian, occupying forty pages and a half, and a copy of it is to be seen in the British Museum.

as a literary effort, merit the contempt with which by some writers it has been treated. It was the first of a series of sermons preached by Pole, who could not be accused of any want of zeal in the discharge of this function.

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After the ceremony of receiving the pallium, the archbishop dined with the Earl of Pembroke; "this being," we are told, "the first time he eat abroad since his arrival in England." * By the earl he was hospitably entertained.

He returned to the court at Greenwich, where Lent was kept with strictness; a course of sermons being delivered in the presence of the queen. On the Thursday in Holy Week, the queen, under the direction of the cardinal-archbishop, performed in the convent of the Grey Friars the ceremony of the feet washing. Accompanied by the legate and the council,† the queen entered the large hall. She was met by the Bishop of Ely, and his lordship was accompanied by the choristers and officials of the chapel royal. Around the hall, on either side, were arranged forty-one female paupers, the number representing the age of the queen. Each poor woman sat on a bench with her foot upon a stool. The ceremony was begun by one of her majesty's household washing the right foot of each poor person; the same function was performed by the sub-almoner, then by the Bishop of Chichester, the lord almoner, and, lastly, by the queen herself. At the entrance of the hall stood all the chief ladies of the court, each holding before her a long linen cloth reaching to the ground; round each lady's neck was a towel depending

* Strype (Memorials, iii. pt. i. 474) says that he dined with the Bishop of London. My authority, being present at the dinner, is more likely to be correct.

† See the letter of Marc Antonio Faitta, who was present at the ceremony.

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from either side ; each carried a silver ewer filled with water in one hand, and a bouquet of flowers in the other. The queen's majesty, in like array, placed herself at their head. Before the first poor woman she kneeled on both her knees ; with her left hand she took the poor woman's right foot, and having washed it, she wiped it with the towel in her right hand. Having signed it with the sign of the cross, she kissed it,—says an eye-witness,—as if she was fervently embracing something precious. One by one, she washed the feet of all, on each fresh occasion receiving from her ladies another ewer and a clean towel. She went thus, from one end of the hall to the other, on her knees. When the washing was finished, she rose from her knees, and passing to the other end of the hall, she gave to each poor person a wooden platter, containing food sufficient for four persons : the food consisted of salt fish and large loaves of bread. Having come to the end of the hall, she returned to the entrance, and proceeding thence, a third time, she gave to each poor woman a wooden cup filled with wine, or rather with hippocras. A fourth time she traversed the length of the hall, distributing pieces of cloth of royal mixture. A fifth time she returned to the entrance, giving as she went down the hall a pair of shoes and stockings. A sixth time she proceeded, giving to each a leathern purse containing forty-one pennies, according to the number of her years. For the seventh time she was seen at the head of the hall ; and placing herself before each “ washee ” in turn, she with her own hands delivered to her the apron and towel used in the washing, having received them one by one from the ladies to whose keeping they had been originally consigned.

The ceremony was not yet concluded. The queen had left the hall, but only, after a short delay, to return.

She had taken off the splendid robe in which she had been attired, and which was now carried by one of her pages. Twice she perambulated the hall, examining attentively, and one by one, each poor woman, of whose circumstances she had previously known something; and having satisfied herself as to the person most praiseworthy for cleanliness of appearance and for good manners, to her she gave the robe,—a splendid robe it was, of the finest purple cloth lined with martens' fur, and with sleeves so long and wide that they reached to the ground. During the entire ceremony, the choir chanted the *Miserere* and other psalms, reciting at the end of each the words: "In diebus illis mulier quæ erat in civitate peccatrix." *

On the morning of Good Friday, the offertory was performed, according to custom, in the church of the Franciscan Friars. After the passion, for the adoration of the cross, her majesty came down from her oratory, accompanied by the legate. Placing herself at a short distance from the cross, she moved towards it on her knees. She remained for some time in private prayer, and then approaching close to the cross, she kissed it, performing, it is said, this act "with such devotion as greatly to edify all those who were present." At this time, her majesty gave her benediction to the rings. On the right side of the altar a barrier was raised for her majesty by means of four benches placed so as to form a square; she again came down from her oratory, and kneeling in the midst of this barricaded space, two large covered basins were brought to her, filled with rings of gold and silver; one of these basins containing rings of her own, whilst the other held those of individuals labelled with their owners'.

* The Queen's Maundy is still kept. It would be interesting to compare the ceremony of 1869 with that of 1556.

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names. On their being uncovered, she commenced reciting a certain prayer and psalms, and then taking them in bunches, she passed them well through her hands, saying another prayer, which commenced thus: "Sanctifica, Domine, annulos istos."

Her majesty proceeded, in the next place, to touch for the king's evil, or to bless the scrofulous. This function, however, she chose to perform privately, in a gallery where there were not above twenty persons present. An altar being raised, she knelt before it, and having recited the confession, she received absolution from the lord cardinal. In the reading of the Gospel appointed for the occasion, when the gospeller came to the words "Super ægros manus imponent et bene habebunt," the queen directed the afflicted women to be brought up to her; and, kneeling, her majesty pressed the ulcerated sore with her hands, making over it the sign of the cross, "with such evident charity and devotion," says a bystander, "as to be a marvel." There were three women to one man who thus approached her. When the Gospel was ended, the queen directed the sick people to approach her one by one. She took from a page a coin—an angel—and with this she touched the place where the evil showed itself, making with the coin the sign of the cross. A hole had been pierced through each coin, through which a ribbon was passed, by which she was enabled to fasten the coin round the neck of each of her patients. The coin had been blessed, and each person was pledged never to part with so sacred a treasure, except under pressure of the greatest distress. Having washed her hands,—the napkin being presented to her by the legate,—she returned to her oratory.

It was Pole's endeavour at all times to imitate—we might more correctly say, to mimic—Cardinal Wolsey.

His were the labours of a lapdog to imitate the gambols of a lion. Although he denounced pluralities, it is to be presumed that he thought a cardinal was above the law; and as Wolsey had been a pluralist, there was no reason why Pole should not become one also. On the death of Bishop Gardyner, he thought of applying for a dispensation to hold the bishopric of Winchester in commendam. When in this respect he was overruled by advisers unwilling to lay him open to the double charge of avarice and inconsistency, he compelled Dr. White, who desired the translation to Winchester, because it had been his residence when he was master and afterwards warden of the college, to enter into a simoniacal contract; and out of the revenues of the see to pay to the cardinal what was at that time an enormous sum—an annual pension of one thousand pounds; and, moreover, to bequeath him a thousand pounds in his will.* In addition to this, the queen made him a grant of several estates, being her manors or principal farms in Kent, besides many other lands and lordships in other counties.†

I shall now consult the reader's convenience by treating first of the political life of Reginald Pole, returning afterwards to the consideration of his proceedings as an archbishop.

I. Cardinal Pole, who was never guilty of the offence of not sufficiently magnifying any office to which he was appointed, desired to be the queen's adviser in things temporal as well as things spiritual. Cardinal Wolsey had been a statesman; and from diplomatic functions

* Godwin, 238. Parker, 527. Parker adds, "*Quæ conventa, quia simoniam redolebat, utrique a papa non sine remuneratione absolvenda fuerunt.*"

† Strype mentions the manors in Kent. I have not examined them, but I am inclined to think that the queen only restored to the archbishop what Henry VIII. had forced Cranmer to make over to the crown.

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Cardinal Pole, though always unsuccessful, had seldom shrunk. Bishop Gardyner, who was the chief minister of the Crown when the cardinal arrived in England, knew his man, and saw his weakness. Like other indolent though ambitious men, Pole was willing to let others do the work, provided that he was himself ostensibly the foremost man. Gardyner, who had a mean opinion of Pole's abilities, treated him after his arrival in England with deference and respect, and if, as we are told, there was no cordial friendship between them, we certainly cannot discover, in the documents of history, that there was any misunderstanding. Gardyner had opposed Pole's coming into England, when he saw the impolicy of his coming, just as he had opposed the Spanish match; but when he perceived that the queen was on this point resolute and determined, the astute chancellor employed his abilities to render the influence of Pole as little injurious as possible to the welfare of the country. To Pole he gave, as we have seen, a hearty welcome, and at all times he yielded to him, ostentatiously, the precedence which was his due; at the same time, Pole unconsciously received from Gardyner the principles upon which, as if they were the suggestions of his own mind, he discoursed to others.

We must now go back to a few months preceding the consecration of Pole and the circumstances just detailed. Henry II., King of France, addressed a letter to the Queen of England, congratulating her on having effected a reconciliation of the Church of England with the pope. He sent it by the brother of his ambassador, the prothonotary De Noailles, afterwards Bishop of Acqs, but at that time only the king's almoner in ordinary.* The prothonotary was permitted, in an unofficial manner, to

* The letter is to be found among the State Papers, Calendar 149.

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inform Gardynere that the King of France was willing to accept the good offices of England, if the Queen of England were disposed to mediate between France and the empire, with the view of effecting a general pacification. Although Pole's connection with Philip might be considered as placing him on the side of the emperor, still Henry was aware of his friendly feelings towards France, and, with the object of pleasing the queen, he offered to accept him as the negotiator. Gardynere honestly, though in confidence, expressed a doubt whether Pole's abilities were sufficient for such an undertaking, unless he were assisted by persons more expert in such transactions than himself. He was justified in arriving at this conclusion by the failure of Pole in every embassy in which he had been engaged; and amidst flattery heaped upon the friend and adviser of Queen Mary, we detect the low opinion entertained by the statesmen of the age of the abilities and industry of Cardinal Pole. In writing to Sorzano, Granvelle did not hesitate to say that "Pole was no statesman, and that he was utterly unfit to advise or govern."* Still, Pole was not a man whom either Gardynere or the French king could afford to offend; and it was finally arranged that the cardinal should be placed at the head of a congress which was to meet at Marque, not far from Calais, and within the English pale. Pole, always having Wolsey in his eye, required everything to be transacted on a scale of greater magnificence than the English exchequer could at that time afford.

In the month of May, 1555, the meeting took place. Gardynere, Arundel, and Paget were associated with Pole

* Camden, p. 20. Proposals for peace were received in the December following, and led to an armistice; but at that time the French positively refused the mediation of Pole, alleging, as one of the reasons, his incapacity.

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as the representatives of the Queen of England ; and they were met by the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Duke of Alva, and the High Constable of France. The usual fate which had hitherto attended the negotiations of Pole awaited him now. He had, at this time, only to listen to the suggestions and to act upon the advice of counsellors superior in wisdom and experience to any with whom he had been called upon to act ; and they must share with him the blame, if blame attached to any one, for the failure of the negotiations. To effect a peace between two parties at variance, each must make some sacrifice, greater or less ; and when it was found, that neither Charles nor the French king would moderate their demands the one upon the other, it was evident that a treaty was impracticable. From this mission Pole returned to England doubly mortified, for it was at this period that he was again brought forward by the Queen of England, on the death of Marcellus, as a candidate for the papacy. She may have learned by experience, that something more was required than the title of cardinal and the trappings of office, to raise him to an equality with such a statesman as Gianpietro Caraffa, who on the 23rd of May, 1555, became Pope Paul IV.

The election of Paul IV. confirmed Pole in his resolution to retire from political life, and to confine himself to the functions of his spiritual office. His position was one of difficulty and delicacy. He knew that he was not in favour with Paul IV. There had been a misunderstanding between them before Caraffa was elected pope ; and although, through the mediation of a common friend, by whose advice a letter explanatory, almost apologetic, of his conduct had been written by Pole, he knew Caraffa to be a man who never forgot or forgave an offence, however unreasonably taken. The primary duty of a cardi-

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nal was to act as a counsellor of the pope; and, to discharge that duty properly, it was necessary that he should reside in Rome, or in its immediate vicinity. An exemption from residence was at this time rarely given, and, when given, it was granted as a favour. A legate a latere was, strictly speaking, the pope's ambassador accredited to a foreign court. The ordinary business of the usurped jurisdiction of the pope in the various kingdoms of Europe was transacted by the primate as ordinary legate or as *legatus natus*.* A legate a latere was an exceptional appointment—an appointment made for a special purpose; in the case of Pole, to reconcile the Church and realm to the papal see. This special object had now been effected, and there was no reason, therefore, why the legate a latere should not be recalled. It was in anticipation of this possibility, that Pole had stipulated, before his consecration, that England should be his permanent place of abode. The reconciliation of the Church of England with the papacy having been accomplished, his legatine office resolved itself chiefly into that of an embassy; and it was not probable that the pope would retain as his ambassador at the English court a minister who, in a dispute between the two courts, was the advocate of the court in which he resided, and not of that which he represented. Pole was in a dilemma. Paul IV. was not only the ally of France,

* There is some difficulty in understanding the anomalous position into which Pole was forced. The title of *Legatus natus* does not imply an actual office or appointment, but an *ex officio* jurisdiction, exercised by some person holding another office, in default of an accredited legation. The Archbishop of Canterbury was *legatus natus*, but he had, besides, a commission of ordinary legation issued to him on his appointment. This was the commission, I presume, of which he was deprived. At Oxford, the *Cancellarius natus* is the senior doctor, or head of a house, when there is no actual chancellor.

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but he was also the bitter enemy of Spain, and of the emperor. He declared it to be his ambition to free Italy from the tyranny of Spain, and to place two French princes on the thrones of Milan and Naples.* Ranke describes him—in one of those powerful passages, which convey almost as much general information incidentally, as they are intended to impart immediately—as sitting for hours over the black thick volcanic wine of Naples, called *mangiaguerra*, which was his ordinary drink, and pouring forth torrents of eloquence against those schismatics and heretics, those accursed of God, the spawn of Jews and Moors, the dregs of the earth, and whatever other abusive epithets he could invent upon the Spaniards.† Although the Queen of England was professedly neutral in the war between the emperor and the King of France, yet her husband was the emperor's son; and it was easy to foresee, what soon after did actually occur, that England would, however unwillingly, be forced into the contest, if a contest there were, on the side of Spain. It was not to be supposed that the pope would permit his ambassador to act as chief minister in the councils of a sovereign with whom he was at war. This Pole was made to understand. But his mission, in a religious point of view, was not only to reconcile the realm to the pope, but also to reform the English Church; and for this purpose it was desirable that he should possess the extraordinary power with which by his legation a *latere* he was invested; neither did his

* See State Papers, Calendar 82, 124, 149, 162, 267; and compare Noailles, iv. 63, 119, 120.

† Ranke, i. 196. He gives his authorities. Pole was accustomed to discharge his wrath in abusive words, but he was surpassed in the language of the fish-market by the reputed successor of St. Peter. Outsiders hear much of the unity and peace which prevail in the Romish Church. The history of Paul IV. is only one of the many chapters in papal history which gives the lie to this assertion.

haughty spirit brook the idea of receding from an office which he regarded as superior to his archbishopric.

The situation of all parties was remarkable: here were a king and queen who had risked much to establish the spiritual rights or pretensions of the pope in England, to their own degradation; supported by a minister who had for nearly a quarter of a century suffered exile for the maintenance of those alleged rights; and on the other side, there was a pope ready to sacrifice those advantages, or, at least, to hazard them, by involving his reconciled children in all the countless miseries of war, and of a war undertaken in furtherance of his secular ends, or for the indulgence of the malignant passions, still burning with youthful vehemence in the heart of a minister of the God of peace—that minister having nearly reached the term of life when the strength of those who reach it is but labour and sorrow.

It is necessary to take these circumstances into consideration, in order that we may account for the conduct of Pole. Ambitious to become a second Wolsey, he found not only the queen, but her far wiser husband, ready to accept him as the chief adviser of the crown. Pole, however, perceived that, however much he desired it, this could not be when Paul IV. was pope; but, instead of acting in a straightforward and decided manner, he hesitated, letting “I dare not wait upon I would.” He thus offended all: the pope could not trust him; his vacillation disquieted the privy council; and Philip learned to regard him as a mere time-server instead of a friend.

Antecedently to this, on the death of Gardynier, Pole had aspired to the chancellorship. From contemporary writers we know that the feeling of the public was, that he was too indolent, through physical infirmity, to discharge the duties, which had already become arduous, of

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an office so important. But, retaining the honours of the position, he might have relegated the duties to the subordinate officers of his court, if that more serious impediment had not presented itself to which allusion has been made. The office of prime minister of Queen Mary was visibly incompatible with that of ambassador of Pope Paul IV. A hint soon came from Rome to the effect, that the legate a latere would be recalled, or, at all events, would have to resign his connection with the court of England; in other words, the question was, whether Reginald Pole would be the pope's ambassador or the Queen of England's chancellor. He chose the former, especially as, in his private capacity, his influence with the queen would still continue to be great, and he could, through her, carry, though by indirect means, the measures for proposing which he might otherwise have had the praise or censure.

When he was leaving England, Philip, aware of the feebleness of the queen's intellect, and the firmness, not to say obstinacy, of her temper, entreated the legate to act as her private counsellor and spiritual friend.*

Meantime, Pole was losing the little popularity he had, for a short time, obtained. The privy council com-

* This is mentioned by Noailles; and here we may observe that, bad as is the historical character of Philip in every relation of life, his political conduct during his residence in England was worthy of praise. He was accused of robbing the country, but, in point of fact, he contributed out of his own resources to the public expenditure when the treasury was bankrupt. Whether from policy or not, he was certainly on the side of leniency when persecution was resorted to; and, though an unfaithful husband—being, if possible, more profligate and sensual than kings and princes generally are—he bore with patience the jealousies and caprices of his wife. At the same time, he was so hated by the English that his life was constantly in danger; and even the courtiers who accepted his presence wished to drive him from the country which he was anxious to quit.

plained of back-stairs influence ; while the people believed that a word from him would have put an end to the persecutions.

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While such was the state of affairs in England, the report of Pole's substantial power, through his influence with the queen, reached Rome ; and the irritable and implacable pontiff was more than ever enraged at finding his legate lending the weight of his influence to the interests of Philip rather than to those of his Roman sovereign. Strange it was, that two persons who sacrificed their very souls for the papacy should be regarded by the pope as his enemies. Such was the consequence of the pope having become a temporal sovereign.

Pole became sensible of the miseries and inconsistencies attendant upon a divided allegiance. He did what he could to serve two masters. From the privy council of the Queen of England he withdrew ; and he despatched his secretary, Henry Penning, with a letter intended to be explanatory, or apologetic, to the pope. A letter more injudicious, however, could not have been penned. Writing to a proud, impassioned, self-opinionated old man, Pole ventured to admonish his master and to tender to him his advice. He deplored the war in which the pope was engaged, as damaging the cause of religion throughout Europe, and especially in England. He dwelt on the motives to amity which ought to animate both Philip and the pope, and mentioned all that had been done for the papacy in England by Mary and her husband, services which, in the name of the pope, and as his minister, he had acknowledged. He reminded Paul, that although he was now a sovereign prince, he was born a subject of the emperor ; and then went on to say, that having counselled peace to Philip, he would tender the same counsel to the pope. Thus, while professing to seek

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instructions from his master, he assumed the character of a mentor; and, evidently meaning well, he damaged, through his want of judgment, the cause he desired to support.

We are not surprised to hear of the extreme indignation to which the irritated old pontiff gave vent. At first he could not refrain from bursting into a fit of laughter at the wonderful absurdity of a man like Pole, and in Pole's subordinate position, venturing to admonish his master,—that master being his superior in intellect as well as in station, and feeling for his monitor supreme contempt; but the amusement was transient, the indignation was the permanent passion, and it goaded him to punish the impertinence of his servant.

At the beginning of May, 1557, Paul IV. and King Philip were at war. From every country under the dominion of Philip the pope recalled his legates. It was supposed that the revocation of the credentials of his ambassadors would not extend to Pole, England being a neutral power. In the articles of marriage between the Queen of England and the Prince of Spain, it had been stipulated, under direction of Bishop Gardyner, that England was not to be involved, directly or indirectly, in any war undertaken for the protection or aggrandizement of the royal consort's continental dominions. But Paul was quite aware that these articles would be violated without compunction, if Philip should ever, during the lifetime of his wife, require the assistance of England. Paul, therefore, held himself justified, as a politician, in indulging his spite against Cardinal Pole, by expressly including him among the legates whose credentials to foreign courts the Italian potentate now cancelled. He went further than this; he revived the charge of heresy formerly brought against Pole by Paul himself;

and he summoned him before the Inquisition, there to clear himself or to be condemned. The friends of Pole were made objects of the papal malice; and Cardinal Morone was already under trial before the Inquisition.

The pope acted with a precipitation which betrayed him into inconsistency. He had on a former occasion accused Pole of heresy; and as Cardinal Caraffa he brought forward the charge against him when it seemed probable, at the death of Paul III., that the conclave would elevate Cardinal Pole to the papacy. The charge was based upon the extreme leniency shown by Pole to the Lutherans or Protestants at the time when he administered the affairs of the Patrimony, as well as upon the opinion he entertained on the great dogma of justification by faith only. But when, on the election of Julius, there was no good purpose in insisting on the charge, the charge was withdrawn. Cardinal Pole, through a common friend, approached Cardinal Caraffa, and expressed his regret at having been misunderstood by a man whom, for his piety and his moral character, he respected and revered. He offered to vindicate his character and to prove his orthodoxy by the publication of a treatise. Cardinal Caraffa expressed himself, however, so perfectly satisfied on the subject, that the publication of the proposed treatise, he declared, would be a work of supererogation. Caraffa being satisfied, Pole was silent.*

The conduct of Paul excited the anger of the queen; and the people, always glad to stand opposed to the pope, expressed an indignation, stronger perhaps than they felt, at the insult gratuitously offered to the English nation. Sir Edward Carne, our ambassador at the Roman court, was directed to remonstrate with Paul, and to remark

* See the correspondence in Quirini, iv. 91. Pole could not be brief; his letter was itself a treatise occupying sixteen quarto pages.

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on the impolicy of offering an insult to a neutral power. He was to remind the pope, that the peculiar circumstances of the country absolutely required the residence of a legate, if the reconciliation was to be permanent between England and Rome. Paul admitted the validity of the arguments adduced for the residence of a legate in England, but the conclusion at which he arrived differed widely from that of the queen and her government. A legate might be required, but it was not requisite that Pole should be the man. Paul assumed a high tone; what the pope had once done could not be reversed. "What I have written, I have written," or words to this effect, were on his lips; it would not comport with the majesty of the throne he was appointed to occupy, to revoke any part of a decree solemnly given in full consistory. Moreover, Pole, lying under a charge of heresy, it was necessary he should appear at Rome without loss of time, to vindicate himself before the Inquisition; or else to undergo at Rome the same terrible sentence to which he had consigned his predecessor at Oxford.

Paul, at the same time, gave a significant hint, that if Philip were to unite with Mary, and if from both sovereigns a personal application were made, a modification of his sentence, notwithstanding all this vapouring, might, after all, not be impossible.*

The queen lost no time in forwarding an application for redress, which assumed the character of a remonstrance. She recounted the meritorious services of Pole in reconciling England to Rome, and she mentioned the deep affliction she should experience if her kinsman were deprived of "a legacy" that had been from time immemorial attached to the archbishopric of Canterbury. The

* Carne's despatch is dated 15th of May; the queen wrote on the 21st. The remonstrance of the privy council is without date.

bearer of the queen's letter went first to Cambray, there to obtain the signature of King Philip if, on perusal, the document commended itself to his judgment. Parliament was not sitting, but the queen caused another remonstrance to be drawn up, to which she obtained the signatures of those members of the privy council who were in London, and of such of the nobility as were within easy reach of the royal messengers.

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Paul IV. promised acquiescence in the wishes thus expressed, and kept his promise "to the ear," but nothing more. The queen, the king, and the nobles agreed in the importance of a legate, resident for some time, if not always, in England. This was a concession on the part of England highly satisfactory to the authorities at Rome. Nothing could be more reasonable than the demand; the pope rejoiced to meet the wishes of the queen and her people. He would have it inferred that he was anxious to please the queen. He could not, of course, for reasons before assigned, re-invest Pole with the office of which he had been deprived, or, at all events, this could not be done until Pole had cleared himself from the charge of heresy. But the pope, considerate of the queen's feelings, if he could not give her the friend she most desired, would provide her with the friend next in her esteem—he would appoint William Peto his legate.

William Peto, a Franciscan friar, had been in his youth a zealous supporter of the cause of the unfortunate Queen Katharine; he had dared the fury of Henry, by condemning the king's conduct from the pulpit. He now held office in the English court as confessor to Queen Mary. Here is a man, Paul presumed, whose preferment must be in accordance with the queen's wishes. He was eighty years of age, and a vacancy in his office would occur ere many years would elapse; and then, without any sacrifice

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of the majesty of the papal throne, Pole might be re-instated, if to the pope his re-instatement might appear expedient. Paul was, to be sure, a man as old as Peto, if not more advanced in years, but "all men think all men mortal but themselves;" and if he did not outlive Peto, the policy marked out by himself might be followed by his successor.

The old man, resident in this country, was forthwith created a cardinal, and was appointed legate a latere to England.

There was Plantagenet blood in the veins of Mary, and she was not to be put on one side by this child's play. She had precedents in abundance for what she was determined to do. Her religion would induce her to submit to a papal mandate, if a bull or a brief was served upon her; but woe to the traitor who should, without her permission, venture to introduce an obnoxious bull or brief into her dominions. It would be for Peto to answer it to his own conscience, whether he would or would not yield obedience to the pope, and accept the office imposed upon him; but if he should accept it without the royal consent, a traitor's doom, he knew full well, awaited him. The papal messenger, the bearer of the red hat to Peto, was to be stopped at Calais.*

All this was done without any apparent consultation with Pole; and although it is not to be supposed, that he could be really ignorant of what was taking place, yet an opportunity was offered for him to plead ignorance—official ignorance—for not yielding obedience to any commands which might issue from Rome. For the mere politician this would have sufficed; but Pole regarded the

* Pallavicini, ii. 205. See also Strype, iii. pt. ii. 39, where Pole says that the nuncio bearing the cardinal's hat to Peto was not permitted to enter Calais.

subject from a religious point of view. Although, through the precautions of the privy council, he had no official notification of his having been deprived of the office of legate a latere, he could not be ignorant of what had occurred at Rome, and he declined to have the legate's cross borne before him. He thought, perhaps, by these means to conciliate the angry pontiff; and having retired from political life, he hoped to be permitted to discharge his episcopal functions in peace. With these objects in view he addressed a letter to the pope, and sent it by his chancellor, the datary Ormanetto.*

Before the arrival, however, of Ormanetto, the English ambassador had had several interviews with the pope. Paul was warned that if he persevered in alienating the affections of the few staunch friends of the papacy in England, surrounded as they were by many who were lukewarm, and by a greater number who were hostile, the papal cause in that country would soon be overthrown. At first the pope treated the remonstrances in a jocose and jesting manner, and expressed surprise that the queen

* Godwin (*De Præsul.* 151; Wood, ii. pt. i. 130) accuses Foxe of ignorance in calling Ormanetto the pope's datary, but throughout May's *Diary* he is called datary. He was datary for England. Heylin remarks that the definition of *Datarius*, given by Du Cange, is, "primus Cancellariæ Romanæ minister, prælatus semper, interdum cardinalis; sic dictus a litteris expeditis quibus vulgo addit *Datum Romæ*," &c. But as it does not appear how such a functionary could act anywhere but at Rome, we may perhaps understand the office of the datary for England by supposing Ormanetto to have been commissioned for the transaction of business like that of the *Dataria Romana*, the department to which belong the issuing of dispensations, the conferring of such ecclesiastical dignities as are in the gift of the pope, and similar acts of grace. (Walter, *Lehrb. d. Kirchenrechts*, Bonn, 1842, p. 295.) "The office was probably extraordinary, the affairs of the reconciliation rendering it expedient that a person should be sent into England with authority to settle matters which in the ordinary course must have been referred to Rome."—Robertson, note to Heylin, ii. 197.

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was not grateful to him for remitting the customary fees at the consecration of Cardinal Peto, and for sending him two thousand ducats to enable him to keep up his state.*

But things had assumed a different aspect before the arrival of Ormanetto at Rome. He was courteously received. Through Cardinal Trani the pope promised an interview with Ormanetto on the morrow of his arrival, "at 20 of the clock;" but though he waited all night, the pope was unable to grant him an audience. He was directed to send in the letter he could not personally present. Although in the letter Pole evidently put a restraint upon himself, yet he could not control the temper which, when he was personally concerned, would speak out. "Your holiness," he said, "hath dealt with me after that manner as no pope ever did with any cardinal. So that as you are without an example in what you have done against me, I also shall be without an example how I ought to behave myself towards your holiness; for there is no example extant, as I know of, of a pope who, when himself had called a cardinal into suspicion of heresy, should deprive him of his legacy, and put another in his place, and that even while he was performing the office of a legate, before he was cited to plead his own cause."†

From the charge of heresy he could vindicate himself by a personal appeal to the pope, upon an occasion already mentioned. It will be remembered, and Pole now referred to the fact, that Paul, while yet a cardinal, expressed his conviction, that the stories in circulation of Pole's heretical proclivities were the fabrication of his adversaries. He had done more; he had given him a significant hint that, on the recurrence of a vacancy in

* Among the despatches of Carne, see particularly those dated 2nd July and 7th August.

† Strype, from the Petyt MSS., Memorials, iii. pt. ii. 34.]

the papal throne, Pole might calculate on the vote of Caraffa. If anything more were required, Pole adverted to the high testimony he received from the same great personage when he had become Paul IV.; for, in granting his permission to the English cardinal to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury, he spoke of him in full consistory in the highest terms. So far from abetting heresy in England, all Pole had done, since his arrival in this country, was "most ungrateful" to heretics, who rejoice in nothing so much as in hearing this name of heretic imposed upon him by the pope. So that, even supposing the charge of heresy in time past had been substantiated against him, yet a truly catholic and godly man, instead of reproaching him, would rather give God thanks, that it was with Pole as it had been with St. Paul, when he who formerly had opposed the Church, at length most earnestly defended it.

Pole complained in this letter, that the pope, who was constituted by God a judge, had converted himself into an accuser of the brethren. He was deeply wounding the heart of the queen, "the mother of obedience," who had done such great things for the Church—by denouncing her husband, King Philip, as a schismatic, and her primate as a heretic. But he warned the pope, that while conceding those rights of the papacy which she regarded as indisputable, she would firmly maintain her own; and, supported by her whole council and the assent of all the judges of the land, she determined to put the ancient laws of the realm in force: she had prohibited the introduction into England of any papal brief, and would prohibit the nuncio sent with the red hat to Peto from entering the gates of Calais.

Under these circumstances, the archbishop remained untouched by the papal excommunication, and the person,

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assuming to be a Roman cardinal, was seen walking up and down the streets of London in the usual attire of a begging friar.

Those who would support the papacy on the ground of its conducing to peace and harmony, will do well to ponder this portion of ecclesiastical history. Universal history does, indeed, proclaim the fact, that mediæval pontiffs were, through their worldly ambition, the authors of confusion rather than of peace.

Whether Paul perused this document of Pole's may be doubted. He had, at this time, other things upon which to employ the thoughts of his worldly mind and his disappointed ambition.

Both the French and the pope had been unconsciously fighting the battle of King Philip. Philip's anxiety was to involve England in the war he was carrying on with the powers just named, and the queen was naturally anxious to meet the wishes of her husband. But the country was not prepared for war, and it was especially jealous of any Spanish alliance; and, with an exhausted exchequer, the privy council were opposed to the wishes of the queen. Things were in this position when the news was spread over the country that a French fleet had appeared off the Yorkshire coast; and that an invasion was threatened on the part of the Protestant refugees in France, aided and abetted by the French king. The very threat of a French invasion has, at all times, roused, not the fears only, but the indignant passions of the English; while the alarm was now intensified by an insurrectionary movement, assisted by the Scotch in alliance with France. The papal interferences were indignantly resented by many who had no affection for the cardinal, and more particularly by those who were only abiding their time, in the expectation of

being able to overthrow finally the popish authority in England. Even Pole himself very nearly obtained a short-lived popularity, when it was reported that he was persecuted by the pope because he refused to further the temporal objects of the Roman sovereign at the expense of the interests of his native country. Philip was immediately in England to seize the opportunity. War was declared on the 7th of June. An English contingent soon after joined the Spanish army; and to the valour of our countrymen, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, was mainly to be attributed the victory of St. Quentin, that battle in which the French suffered a defeat such as they had not experienced since the days of Agincourt.

These were the circumstances which favoured the negotiations conducted by Ormanetto.

The news of this defeat had only just arrived in Rome, when he was soliciting an audience of the pope to deliver his master's despatch. The audience now sought for he never obtained; but a verbal message was sent to Pole, through Ormanetto, that the cardinal might for the present retain his position as legate. All practical difficulties were, at the same time, removed by the death of Peto. Nevertheless, the office of a legate a latere Pole did never resume; he contented himself with signing himself, as his predecessors, with the exception of Cranmer, from the time of Archbishop Hubert had done, as simple legate. In fact, Paul IV. troubled himself no further in the matter, and Pole was contented to let things remain as they were. But notwithstanding this, the charge of heresy was not withdrawn; the citation of Pole to appear before the Inquisition, as a reputed heretic, was never revoked. He who in England was condemning heretics

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to the stake, was afraid to appear in Rome, lest the furnace he heated for others might be heated sevenfold for himself. So deeply did Pole feel, and so indignantly did he resent the injury, that he composed a treatise in his own defence. We know the violence of language to which his malignant passions would impel Pole, when he went forth, pen in hand, to meet an adversary. We can understand, therefore, why he should have paused before transmitting the treatise; and we are impressed with the depth and sincerity of his religious convictions, when we are informed that, on reviewing what he had written, he thought of the curse which Ham had incurred (Gen. ix. 22-25), and saying, "I will not discover my father's nakedness," he threw the fair copy of the memorial into the fire.*

I wish, for the credit of Pole, we could stop here; but the truth, though often overlooked, cannot be concealed, that it was during Pole's ascendancy in the councils of Queen Mary, that the majority of those persecutions for religious opinions took place which have attached for ever the epithet of "the bloody" to her name, and covered her reign with ignominy and disgrace.

On the one hand, we have the testimony of almost all historians, Protestant or Papistical, to the leniency of Pole's government at Viterbo. This indeed confirmed, if it did not give rise to, the report, that he was himself inclined to Lutheranism; and to this testimony we may add his avowed opposition to severe measures when the adoption of them was first proposed in the privy council by English statesmen: on the other hand, we have the undeniable fact, that at no period in Mary's history was persecution more rife than it was when Pole was at

* The fact is stated by Pallavicini. The loss of such a document is much to be deplored.

the head of affairs. In Gardyner's time, the persecutions were comparatively few; and after they had commenced he was heard to exclaim, "Ohe! jam satis est." Even Bonner would, at one time, have relaxed, if he had not been urged by the privy council to the adoption of strong measures.* But throughout Pole's administration there seemed to be a calm but settled determination, that the law should take its course; and the cardinal, whose advice to the queen would not have passed unheeded, would not interfere to mitigate its severity.

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We can only reconcile the two facts, or series of facts, by applying to the explanation of them, the circumstances to which attention has just been directed; and I am afraid this is the only solution of the difficulty. Pole was himself delated before the Inquisition as a heretic. The proof of his being in league with heretics depended in part upon the leniency he had manifested when he was governor of the Patrimony, and the intimacy in which he had lived with many persons whose heretical opinions could not be denied. To meet this charge, Pole was now determined never again to interfere in behalf of the reputed heretics in England. He did not feel under any obligation to favour them; he would permit the law to take its course. Offended as we might be, under any circumstances, by a selfishness which rendered him, against his nature, cruel, we could not condemn him severely for doing as others had done; but, worse than this, as we shall presently see, he urged the commissioner appointed by government *to search* for heretics, and to discharge their duty without respect of persons. Up to

* To throw ourselves into the feelings of the sixteenth century, we may observe that, what in the nineteenth century we should call *persecution*, our ancestors would have called *prosecution*.

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this time the policy had been, not to molest those many persons who, whatever their known opinions may have been, did not set the law at defiance.

Upon the subject of persecution we have already had occasion to speak, but it is one of so much importance, especially as bearing on the character and history of Reginald Pole, that to this subject we must revert.

The real difficulty is, to ascertain in what persecution consists. Men can be no longer burned—but then burning is not of the essence of persecution, it is an accident; and the persecution would have been the same whether men were hanged or burned. Gardyner, Cranmer, Latimer, and Pole, at home; the pope, John Calvin, and others, abroad, subjected men whose opinions differed from the opinions legalized in their Church or sect, in the sixteenth century, to the penalty of death. There are certain persons among the clergy of the English Church who, in the nineteenth century, are accused of an inclination to the popish ceremonial, or of contaminating the atmosphere of their Church by infusing into it the malaria of Rome: they are said to inculcate, from the pulpit, or in their writings, doctrines which in the opinion of their accusers are heretical.* When against

* To the word heresy odium is attached, and when the term is applied to an opponent by any one who contends for the right of private judgment, the person so applying it is in heart a persecutor. He uses it to cause pain or inconvenience to the person accused. In order to silence, to annoy, to bring into discredit, and perhaps to involve in serious worldly loss, an unfortunate individual whose deductions from Scripture differ from his own, the accuser of the brethren employs a term which, from the tradition of the Church, is supposed to represent something so horrible, that the person to whom it is attached ought to be an outcast of society. Heresy really means private judgment, and was originally used to denote a person who, instead of deferring to the tradition of the Church, as the English reformers did, contended that every one is justified in understanding Scripture accord-

these persons a *prosecution* is instituted, the question is whether this be or be not a *persecution*. If it be not, then the question must be asked, What more than this was done in the sixteenth century? The course now indicated is precisely the course pursued by Bonner, and the other ordinaries, urged by the civil government of Queen Mary to prosecute certain persons who were acting in contravention to the existing laws of the realm. The formularies of the Church were, at that time, based upon the Romish model; but the ministers of some churches refused to conform to the established ceremonies, and introduced novelties and preached Protestantism. Against these introducers of novelties noble lords and honourable gentlemen urged the bishops to proceed. The most liberal journals of the present day, conducted very often by men who never themselves cross the threshold of a church, could not be more violent in their reprobation of the bishops for not putting down Ritualism, than were the leading statesmen in Mary's reign, when, with equal vehemence, they were infuriated against Protestantism.

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ing to the construction put upon it by his own private judgment. In the mouth of one who defers to the Church the word heresy has a definite meaning; but when the word is freely used in the Houses of Parliament, or in the public press, by persons who call themselves "Protestants of the Protestants," or ultra-Protestants, it is difficult to understand how or where they differ in principle from Bonner and Gardyner. They contend for the right of private judgment, that is, according to the meaning of the word, etymologically and technically, for heresy; and then, because, according to the tradition of the Church, heresy is a punishable offence, they accuse others whose private judgment differs from their own, of that which, though regarded by the Church as crime, is, in the opinion of these persons, a virtue. When a man, not professing to be a Catholic, accuses another of heresy, he only intends to annoy and to silence him, and the person annoyed may give God thanks that the time for burning is past.

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The penalty was different. If a prosecutor in modern times succeeds, he can only subject the convicted heretic to starvation; he may drive the criminal with a wife and children from his home; but the age, having decreed that capital punishment shall be inflicted on none except murderers of the body, prohibits the burning.

Life was not held so sacred in Queen Mary's days as in modern times; for the smallest offences men were sentenced to death.

For political offences men were slaughtered by hundreds and thousands in the sixteenth century; and the very historians who compassionate those who were slain for their religious principles, under the notion that the religious party to which they are opposed is discredited thereby, are among the first to vindicate the severity which they represent as necessary to preserve the peace of society.*

* It is not to be forgotten that, in trials for heresy, civilians took part as well as the clergy. We find the following entry in Machyn's Diary, on the 21st of March, 1558: "The same day were brought afore the Bishop of London (Bonner), and *other learned men of the temporality*, three men, the which their opinions were such that they were judged and condemned to suffer death by fire."—Machyn, p. 169.

The ferocity of the politicians, and their utter disregard of human life when any political end was to be answered, must be adduced to show the cruelty of the age. Renard, a man careless of religion except in its political aspect, considered prosecutions for heresy impolitic, but nothing can exceed the bloody-mindedness displayed, throughout his despatches, against political offenders. He censured the leniency of the English government, although for one person burnt for heresy, a hundred were executed for treason. For the legal murder of the Princess Elizabeth he was urgent; he repeatedly affirmed to his master, that England would never be secure to the Spanish interests, until the life of Elizabeth was taken; and he contended, that she ought to have been executed as implicated in Wyatt's conspiracy. Tytler remarks, "Mary, it is said, wished to pardon the youthful Jane and her husband Lord Guilford Dudley, but the emperor inculcated severity, and

However erroneous they may have been, Christians, whether papal or protestant, in the sixteenth century, thought that a government ought to have as much regard for the spiritual as for the physical well-being of man. If a murderer takes a man's life, he ought, they argued, to be hanged; if a heretic, by the propagation of heresy, destroys the souls of the weak, he ought, they maintained, to be subjected to the extreme penalty of the law.

Men in those days, whether through faith or credulity, thought, that the souls as well as the lives of the public should be protected; and they doomed to death both murderer and heretic—the slaughterer of the soul as well as the slayer of the body. Our contemporaries have regard only to life and property, and view with abhor-

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her own councillors—some of those very men who had placed Jane upon the throne—now urged the expediency of her execution.” Their conduct is strongly animadverted upon by Bishop Poyntet, who knew much of the intrigues of these times. “They,” says he, “that were sworn chief of the council with the Lady Jane, and caused the Queen Mary to be proclaimed a bastard through all England and Ireland, and that were the sorest forcers of men, yea, under the threatened pain of treason, to swear and subscribe unto their doings . . . afterwards became counsellors, I will not say procurers, of the innocent Lady Jane’s death; and at this present are in the highest authority in the queen’s house, and the chiefest officers and doers in the Commonwealth.” “Perhaps,” adds Strype in quoting this passage, “the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Arundel, and the Earl of Pembroke were intended by this writer as some of the chief of these notable temporizers. Yet, strongly as we may stigmatize such conduct, we must equally blame Mary for her weakness in giving way to their cruel policy.” (Tytler, ii. 292.) We read the following passage in a letter from Renard to the emperor: “The queen has granted a general pardon to a multitude of people in Kent, after having caused about *five score* of the most guilty to be executed. Numerous are the petitions presented to her majesty to have the pains of death exchanged for perpetual imprisonment, but to this she will not listen.” —Tytler, ii. 309.

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rence capital punishment inflicted on account of heretical opinions: we rejoice in the fact, but we must not ignore the other fact, that, though the penalty is different, yet the principle is the same, when our desire and endeavour are by coercion to restrain the expression of opinion.

If we credit Foxe, the martyrologist, there was a parcel of bloodthirsty men at the head of society, or rather at the head of the Christian Church, in this country, whose only object was to delight their cruel hearts by witnessing the agonies of their fellow-creatures. Such persons there may have been, and such persons among the writers of anonymous paragraphs may possibly be in the midst of us at the present moment; but we may doubt whether they existed in greater numbers in the sixteenth century than in the nineteenth century. If we look to the facts of history, we find, at the commencement of Mary's reign, that there was no desire or intention to deal harshly with the reformers, whether Protestants or Calvinists: two years elapsed after the accession of Mary, before any persons suffered the penalties of the law on account of reputed heresy. The number of educated persons who held Calvinistic or even Protestant opinions, when Mary ascended the throne, was comparatively small. They might be counted and named. They were aware of their danger, having many of them been more or less implicated in the movement in favour of the Lady Jane. The government also was obliged to act with caution, for it consisted of persons whose principles had frequently changed with their interests; and there was a want of that confidence in one another, in which the strength of a government consists. No attempt was made to induce the reform party to suppose that the

alarm they felt was groundless; and, at the same time, every facility was, nevertheless, afforded them for quitting the country. To Cranmer, as we have seen, among others, the possibility of escaping, by flight, from impending or suspected danger, was afforded, and it was by him, unconscious of his moral weakness of character, nobly rejected; because he, and other great men, such as Bishop Ridley and Bishop Latimer, Bishop Ferrar and Bishop Hooper, were convinced, that by their flight the cause of the Reformation would be damaged. They advised others to fly, but they had themselves borne too prominent a part in the Reformation, so far as it had gone, to be justified in quitting their post.

Although the majority of the leading Protestants and Calvinists submitted to self-exile, yet there were several others who were unable to incur the expense of going abroad, and shrunk from living on the stranger's bounty. Not a few there were, who believed that, if they gave no offence to the government, and conformed outwardly when their conformity was demanded, they would be permitted to live in peace. They had their opinions, but did not think them of sufficient importance to die for them. Various domestic circumstances must have arisen, from time to time, to detain not a few; such, for instance, as Matthew Parker, Pole's successor.

But on one point there was an approximation to unanimity: there was a sturdy determination, such as had existed for centuries, to maintain the liberties of the Church and realm of England against all popish aggression; and the disestablishment of the monasteries being regarded as a triumph over the pope, the anti-papal feeling at length concentrated itself on this one point:—Will the government guarantee these lands, which

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have been long in the market, to their present possessors, and to such persons as shall hereafter purchase them?

This point being ascertained, and security having been given for the reform of the ecclesiastical courts, that portion of the parliament which came from the provinces was willing, and at length became eager, as it were in gratitude, to make any concessions, that the government might deem it expedient to demand. If the queen would herself concede so far, then concessions, to meet her private scruples, might be tolerated on the other side. This was the more easily accomplished, for of this party most were attached to the old ceremonial of public worship. They troubled themselves little about doctrine, until to doctrine recourse was had for the purpose of inflaming the passions which, under other circumstances, had been aroused.

Of the prevalent feeling among such politicians as Sir William Cecil notice has been already taken; and we may have to refer to the subject again, because, from not understanding their position, intellectually and morally, some writers have accused them of an inconsistency which was rather apparent than real. It has been taken for granted that they were Protestants, and they have been judged of on Protestant principles; whereas they were only English reformers—a class of men by no means pledged to Lutheranism. The distinction they made is most important. From early life they had been accustomed to hear that the Church required reformation, and, in the sense of removing abuses, they were reformers. The removal of abuses implied sometimes the introduction also of what might be regarded as novelties to supply their place; to changes, however, though novel, they gave, with conservative jealousy, an unwilling consent. In their younger days they had followed the lead

of Henry VIII., to whom Luther was an abomination, and who died before the fame of Calvin was fully established. Their principles led them to give a general support to the government of Edward VI. without an approbation of all the measures which, while pandering to the passions of *theoretical* reformers, filled the pockets of those whose zeal for reformation did not extend beyond the present world. Until, under Elizabeth, the government became settled, with reference to these statesmen we can only say that they were not worse than statesmen generally are in a revolutionary age.

In a revolutionary age, each man, thinking that the next change may involve him in ruin, endeavours to secure for himself the means of support, so that, when the day of ruin shall have arrived, he may have wherewithal to save himself from destitution. Whether, or how far, the statesmen of the day were influenced by Spanish gold, it is not for us to surmise; but we maintain, that they were not guilty of any inconsistency, either in accepting office under Edward, or in retaining it under Mary. They wished for a reformation, they would watch for opportunities to introduce reforms; but as to Protestantism, in the modern sense of the word, to it they were never pledged; and they only thought of Luther as of a successful opponent of the pope, with whom, so far, they sympathized. Their usual designation in England, was that of Gospellers.

As regarded Reginald Pole, the feeling against him had been connected with their loyalty to Henry VIII., and after the king's death it had gradually died away. The two men hated by Henry were Luther and Pole; and during Henry's lifetime no loyal Englishman could, at the peril of his life, advocate the cause of either. The ejection of the tender of his services, by the council for

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Edward VI., had tended to open to Pole the way to popularity, under the reaction that took place at the commencement of Mary's reign. This was proved, to the astonishment of the government, by the reception of the legate, so unexpectedly cordial, on the part of the people from the time of his landing at Dover till St. Andrew's day, when the temporary reconciliation between England and Rome was effected. The character of Reginald Pole—apart from his conduct to Henry—would be such as to recommend him to the favourable consideration of the public, high or low. He was a Plantagenet; if he had committed an offence against King Henry, he had, at the same time, always professed loyalty to his country; he was known in Italy as a reformer; he had even been accused of Lutheranism; and, though he was devoted to the pope, he had maintained resolutely the expediency of not interfering with the alienated abbey lands. I repeat the facts, which have already been adduced for another purpose, because it is necessary to bear them in mind when we seek to account for a circumstance which at first staggered us,—the little opposition offered to Pole when he became chief minister of the queen. From this post, it is to be remembered, he was almost instantaneously displaced, not by the opposition of English statesmen, but by the pope, by whom Pole was suspected of sacrificing Roman to English interests.

The statesmen, such as Cecil, might, with perfect consistency, make trial of Pole as a reformer. They saw and contended, that the Church required reform; so did Pole: they had experience of the failure under Edward, of an attempt to introduce the Protestant scheme of reform: here again they concurred in opinion with Pole; they were willing to allow Pole's system of reform to be tried. They were not blameworthy, because, through

the worldliness and the folly of the papal authorities, Pole's attempt was a failure; after the failure of all former attempts, they did not deserve censure, when they assisted in the Elizabethan Reformation—the basis of all the reformations that have subsequently taken place in the Church of England.

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It is an incalculable calamity when religion is made the war-cry of a political faction, and when a righteous cause is contaminated by the unhallowed zeal of mere partisans. We must acquit the noble army of martyrs, which forms the glory of our Reformation, of all sympathy with the evil deeds of many who supported the common cause, and were even prepared to suffer death for their party. It is impossible to detect hypocrisy in our contemporaries; and, if we suspect it, we immediately crush the suspicion, and, as an uncharitable thought, we regret that it was ever entertained. It is not till his career has terminated, that we can pronounce on a man's real character, and perceive how far religion may have been the pretext for conduct in reality originating in malignity or ambition. At the same time, we must admit that there is much force in those arguments adduced by Romanists in palliation of Mary's government, the members of which were not capable of distinguishing, and were not called upon to attempt the distinction, between those who, in being subject to the operation of laws designed to promote the peace of society, really suffered in the maintenance of Divine truth; and others who were influenced by the inferior motives that predominate in persons who expect, in revolutionary movements, to improve their fortunes and to indulge their passions.

Tolerant as we are said to have become in the nineteenth century, we must admit, that things were done by the so-called reformers of the sixteenth century which no govern-

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ment could tolerate, if it be the duty of a government to protect the weak against the strong. Whether toleration ought to be extended to a mob hired to insult and maltreat the clergy of a royal chapel, might, if we appeal to our experience, admit of a question ; but every one will concede the point, that it was time for the government to interfere, when, at St. Paul's, a queen's chaplain was shot at ; and when one, who had been clerk of the council in the late king's reign, attempted himself, and urged others to renew the attempt, to assassinate the reigning sovereign. There are many who would be more pleased with the jest than shocked by the indecency, when a dog's head was shaved in derision of the clerical tonsure ; or when a cat was hung at Cheapside with a wafer in its mouth, to bring ridicule upon the Holy Sacrament ; but the government can hardly be blamed for showing symptoms of anxiety and alarm when prayer was publicly offered, that the queen's heart might be converted from idolatry, or else that her days might be shortened ; when it was stated that "the queen was a creature under God's curse, that she was illegitimate, and therefore a usurper ; or, supposing she had come legitimately to the crown, that she was a viper, and therefore ought to be crushed." Addresses from the pulpit answered the purpose, in that age, of the leading articles in a modern newspaper ; but though the press was not then that mighty engine for good or for evil that it has since become, the reformers invoked its aid. A jealous government, in a revolutionary age, might well be alarmed when an appeal was made, in the name of religion, to the worst passions of mankind, through works, most of them, it may be, printed abroad, but widely dispersed by enthusiasts throughout England. Their very titles were sometimes treasonable ; such as, "Blasts against the Government of Women," for which leaders among the Calvinistic reform-

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ers, such as Knox and Goodman, who were beginning to work their way among the lower classes, were responsible. Even in the present age, assumed to be enlightened and liberal, we may doubt whether the government would abstain from strong measures if a man in Goodman's position, and with his influence, should deliberately call the sovereign *de facto*, "a traitor, a bastard, a Proserpina." Whittingham was the editor, if not the author, of a book the object of which was to show that rebellion was not a sin;* and verse was also employed to enforce the same principle. We may give the following as a specimen, from a poem by Kethe, a divine of Geneva:—

"A public weal wretched, and too far disgraced,
Where the right head† is cut off, and the strong instead
A brute beast untamed, and misbegotten, [placed;
More meet to be ruled, than to rule over men."

Even Strype, unwilling to find even a mote in the eye of a reformer, is obliged to admit that "such threatening of the queen did, no question, irritate her, and provoke her to issue out certain angry declarations of her mind, and resolutions of taking vengeance of all such book writers and book readers."‡

The alarm created by these proceedings was not confined to the queen, her government, or the Church; it

* See Stowe, p. 626; Heylin, ii. 217; Collins, vii. 80-94; Maitland, p. 127. See particularly Knox's book, which is a violent invective to insurrection, the title of which is, *The First Blast of the Trumpet*; that of Goodman, professed to be a treatise, *How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their Subjects, and wherein they may lawfully, by God's Law, be disobeyed and resisted*: Wherein is declared the cause of all the present misery in England, and the only way to remedy the same. 16mo. Geneva, 1558.

† Queen Jane.

‡ Strype, *Memorials*, iii. pt. ii. 132.

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extended to the House of Commons; and in the House of Commons, let it be remembered, originated those sanguinary measures which are attributed by party writers, whether puritan or infidel, to the clergy; because the Romanizing clergy happened to be, at this time, in the ascendant. The infidel would trace the evils of the time to the prevalence of religious intolerance, as if the most intolerant of all men were not infidels themselves; the puritans, to the circumstance that the form of religion prevalent at that period was Romish, not Protestant. But though prelates as well as peers, clergy as well as laity, protestants as well as papists, while differing as to what constituted heresy, were united, without a single exception, in the opinion that a convicted or relapsed heretic ought to die,—that as the murderer of the body, so the murderer of the soul should undergo the extreme penalty of the law; still it is an historical fact, that it was in the House of Commons, in the election of which the clergy had not a vote,* that, without a dissentient voice, the statutes for repressing heresy were re-enacted. Then, as now, the complaint laid against the bishops by the leading men of the laity was, that they were not sufficiently zealous in the extirpation of heresy; and when it was alleged that they had not sufficient power, the House of Commons immediately re-enacted the ancient laws which had been repealed in a former reign. By a bill introduced into the House of Commons on the 12th of December, 1554, it was proposed to re-enact the statutes for repressing heresy passed in the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V.; three days afterwards, the bill was carried to the House of Lords, and on the 18th

* The clergy did not vote for members of parliament until, in the reign of Charles II., instead of voting subsidies in convocation, they subjected their property to the general taxation of the country.

of the same month it became an Act of Parliament. Nevertheless, it was not till February in the following year, that any person was condemned to suffer under this act—a circumstance which confirms the statement, that there was considerable reluctance on the part of the government to put it in force; and when persecution was first resorted to, in this reign, it was at first simply with a view of intimidating the leaders of the reforming party.

In the discussions which ensued in the privy council, it is said that Lord Chancellor Gardyner was the advocate for severe measures of repression in regard to the reputed heretics. Hence he has been damned to infamy by all who take Foxe for their authority. But, however much we may censure his opinions, the reader, when forming an estimate of his character, must bear in mind the fact already stated, that in 1553 and 1554, when he was at the zenith of his power, not one person was burned; and that although he was doubtless instrumental in reviving the acts for the suppression of heresy, there were fewer persons burned in the last year of his administration than in any subsequent year of Mary's reign. Gardyner advocated persecution in theory, while Pole was in theory opposed to it, except in extreme cases; but Gardyner's administration was mild, as compared with that of Pole when Pole was at the head of affairs. The most awful instances of legal murder occurred when Pole was the adviser of the queen.

Godwin, Burnet, and Heylin all admit that the zeal of the House of Commons against heretics "had flamed so high, that Gardyner was obliged to repress it." In 1555, Bishop Gardyner was abroad on a foreign mission, and the great seal was put into the hands of the Marquess of Winchester. He, it appears from the council book, made ample use of the power with which he was invested.

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By the lay Lord Keeper writ after writ was issued, stirring up the persecution ; and letters were directed to the nobility and gentry, inviting them to give their attendance with their servants at the burning of heretics.* The cruel flame, it is to be observed, raged most when Gardyner was abroad, and grew still higher at his death.

We are not to ignore these facts, though we must place them in juxtaposition with other facts, and so seek to ascertain how the case really stood. There is no doubt, that in the council Gardyner urged the adoption of severe measures against the reputed heretics, who were, as he thought, encouraging the rioters and provoking them to rebellion. Stephen Gardyner was not a divine ; if we say that he was not a religious man, we are making an assertion which can only be truly made by Him to whom all hearts are open, or by the confession of the irreligious man himself. But we may say that, although he was ready to accept as truth whatever the Church might propound to his faith, he never pretended to any depth of subjective religion. He professed to be a lawyer and a statesman, and as such he contemplated the state of things at this time. He could remember how the Lollards increased, if not in number, yet in their boldness, when the laws against heresy were relaxed under the administration of Wolsey ; and how, after the passing of the Statute of Six Articles, the Protestants ceased for a time to give trouble. Having little faith probably himself, in the modern acceptance of the term, and regarding religion only as a department of the law to which every loyal subject should submit his private judgment, he was under the impression, that when the leaders of Protestantism were aware that the government did not intend to be trifled with any longer, they would instantly recant ; or

* Cecil's Diary, quoted Biog. Brit. iii. 2122.

if some of them should remain firm to the last, their terrible fate would alarm and deter others, inducing them, however reluctantly, to conform. He was for making an example of the leaders, and he expressed himself confident of the conformity of the ignorant multitude. It is due to Gardyner to add, that when he became aware of his mistake,—when he discovered, that the acts of severity which he had recommended, instead of alarming the Protestants, enflamed their enthusiasm, one execution leading the way to another, and each sufferer triumphing in the thought of being permitted to endure hardships for Christ's sake, the chancellor refused to proceed with the executions; he washed his hands of the affair, and died conscience stricken.*

We have referred to the case of Gardyner, because it stands in contrast to that of Pole.

Historians concur in stating that, in opposition to Gardyner, Pole recommended mild measures; not because he thought, what nobody at the time did think, that heresy might not be suppressed by recourse to capital punishment; but because, judging from his own temperament, he was convinced, that the easiest as well as the most legitimate course was to proceed through the arts of persuasion. I will quote the words of Burnet: "The cardinal professing himself an enemy to extreme proceedings, observed that—'Pastors ought to have bowels even to their straying sheep; bishops were fathers, and ought to look on those that erred as their sick children, and not for that to kill them. He had seen that severe proceedings did rather inflame than cure that disease; there was a great difference to be made between a nation uninfected, where some few teachers came to spread errors, and a nation that had been overrun with them, both clergy and laity.

* Collier, vi. 113. Burnet, ii. 487.

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The people were not so violently to be drawn back, but were to have time given them to recover out of those errors into which they had been led by the compliance and writings of their prelates. Therefore, he proposed that there should be a strict reformation of the manners of the clergy carried on. He had observed in every country of Christendom, that all the best and wisest men acknowledged that the scandals and ignorance of the clergy had given the entrance to heresy: so he moved that there might be a reviving of the rules of the primitive Church; and then, within a little time, men might by degrees be brought over.'”*

This is the admission of one whose party bias was such, that he would have omitted the statement if the fact were not too well known to be denied. From what has been stated before of the leniency of Pole's government at Viterbo, and of his defence of himself, when, on his being accused of Lutheranizing, he was for his leniency superseded, we are prepared to endorse the statement here made. It requires, however, very little acquaintance with human nature to understand how, under one set of circumstances, a man may be mild almost to weakness, and yet, under another set of circumstances, become absolutely cruel. The tigress seen sporting with her cubs is an amiable quadruped; but if her den is approached by human footsteps, she is deadly in her wrath. We can easily believe Reginald Pole to have been all that his Italian friends describe him, and we have endeavoured in these pages to do ample justice to a character adorned by many virtues. Amenable himself to acts of kindness, he expected by kindness and by argument to persuade those whose private judgment

* Burnet, ii. 479. And to the same effect, Collier, vi. 101. Ranke (i. 211, 223) makes a similar statement with reference to Pole.

was not in accordance with the ruling of the Church, to renounce or to modify what he regarded as their errors; and by his logical skill to show that much that Luther advanced could be maintained with impunity, by religionists who nevertheless regarded the pope as the vicar of Christ;—and until the final sessions of the Council of Trent this was the case. But while we have brought these circumstances prominently forward, we have been obliged also to lay before the reader the violence and implacability of Pole's character in the treatise he wrote against Henry VIII. He hated Henry VIII. with that extreme bitterness of hatred which is sometimes conspicuous in those who have in the object of their present abhorrence one whose previous benefactions they are obliged to admit. To vindicate their conduct from the charge of ingratitude and inconsistency, they magnify the importance of all points of difference between themselves and their former friends. Pole had a personal hatred and contempt for Cranmer, under the mistaken notion that Cranmer was a mere creature of Henry, and that he made his theological opinions subservient to the purposes of his ambition. At the very time when he was advocating mild measures in the privy council, Pole was actually inditing that letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to which we have adverted in the life of Cranmer, and which reflects more disgrace upon Pole's character, his head, and his heart, than any other circumstance of his life. The best excuse—indeed, the only one—that can be made for Pole, is that which, in the life of Cranmer, I have advanced; namely, that he was overruled; that Mary, appealing to his prejudice against the archbishop, excited his feelings of indignation; and we know how fiercely Pole could write when once his angry passions were aroused. But this apology will not count for much.

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Under the circumstances such weakness would be itself culpable ; and even this apology will hardly be admitted by any one who reads the letter, which from the coherence of its style would appear to have had but one author. It contrasts—unfavourably to Pole—with the calm, dignified, and argumentative language of Cranmer ; though we must admit that Pole was himself calm and dignified if he be compared with Bale, Poynet, and Knox.

The letter just noticed was a semi-official document, enclosing the treatise which Pole designed to be a complete exposure of the principles and conduct of Cranmer.* Intended for the learned world, it was written in Latin ; and in an incomplete state, like the first letter, may be seen in the British Museum.† Another copy exists in the Imperial Library at Paris, from which a translation was made into French by Le Grand.‡ His translation is given *in extenso* in the fifth volume of Quirini ; and when I mention the fact that it occupies thirty-five quarto pages, closely printed ; that it is written with that entire disregard to lucid order of which we complained when treating of the “ De Unitate ;” that a subject is taken up, laid down, and resumed for no assignable or discernible reason ; and that the arguments employed are those commonplaces with which we are familiar in all the writers of his school, I shall consult the convenience of the reader by contenting myself with a general description of the treatise, instead of entering into a minute analysis of a work which no one would consult on its intrinsic merits.

Pole takes, as it were, a text from the Second Epistle

* The English letter may be seen in Strype's Cranmer, ii. 972. Mr. Cox, with his usual fairness and sound judgment, publishes it in an appendix to the Miscellaneous Writings of Cranmer, p. 534.

† Among the Harleian MSS., No. 417.

‡ Hist. du Divorce, i. 260.

of St. John, the ninth and following verses : “ Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed : for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.”

The reader will easily surmise the style of argument to be deduced from such a passage as this. With a quiet *petitio principii*, Pole informs the primate, that he had been urged to act in accordance with the apostolic precept, and not to hold any conversation with one who was manifestly opposed to the doctrine of Christ. But, unwilling as he was to address such a person, he felt it his duty to deviate in this instance from the injunction of St. John. What would be unlawful to others was lawful to him, on account of the character which he had come to England to sustain ; he had come to represent the vicar upon earth of that Great King who had descended from on high, not to condemn the world, but to save it ; and who, until His coming again as the Judge of all, requires it of His servants that they should have recourse to all means and methods for the saving of souls. If he were acting as a private person, and not as the legate of the vicar of Christ, it would be his duty to call upon God for fire from heaven to consume the criminal prelate ; and to justify the severity of this judgment, he accuses Cranmer of having perverted the mind of a zealous prince, as Henry VIII. at the beginning of his reign certainly was, and of having ejected him from the Church by the very weapons through which Satan had ejected man from Paradise. Both had recourse, not to force, but to the subtleties of pernicious counsel. Cranmer, he admitted, was not without abettors in the reign of Henry VIII., but as most of

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those who aided him in perverting the mind of Henry VIII. had conformed to Romanism in the reign of Mary, he says, in defiance of all the evidence to the contrary, that these men—referring evidently to Gardyner, Tunstall, Bonner, and Thirlby—had long resisted the temptations of Cranmer, for yielding to which they now were penitents.

He proceeds to accuse Cranmer of having accepted the primacy upon an understanding that he was, as supreme ordinary, to pronounce the sentence of divorce between Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine; and he goes on to state, that Cranmer had urged the divorce upon the king under the threat of ecclesiastical censures—*additis censurarum minis*. He asserts it to have been a notorious fact, that the archbishop was nominated to the primacy for the purpose of enabling an individual to indulge his lust under the apparent sanction of the law. He accuses the archbishop of himself keeping a concubine under the name of a wife, of an appetite for the riches and honours of the world, and of a childish ambition for notoriety, which led him to broach a new opinion on the subject of the Eucharist. Upon that controversy he enters at some length, and attributes to Berengarius the first opposition to the dogma, not perceiving that this argument makes for Cranmer, Berengarius having in the eleventh century opposed it on the ground of its being a novelty. In short, to adopt the words of Neve, the archbishop is charged with the sins of hypocrisy, pride, impiety, and repeated perjuries, with abandoning himself to gross improprieties and shameful passions, with mocking God, with trampling on the laws of the Church and the realm.

There were many who pleaded the cause of the archbishop on the ground that mercy should be extended to one who, when he was in power, was eminent for the merciful exercise of his authority. The iniquitous

use made of this fact by Pole may be quoted as a sample of his work. "Neither will that," he says, "suffice as an excuse for your conduct, that you were benevolent and easy of access to all. This, I am told, is said of you by some persons. But they know not what they say; nor do you, perhaps, know whether you have slain any man, because you neither entered the sheepfold of Christ with this intention, nor subsequently to your entrance have been conscious of seeking any man's blood. But here your conscience is deceived by Satan, who, homicide as he has been from the beginning, and daily as he slays men by his counsel, yet if he had to plead his cause before a human tribunal, he could easily prove to the very men whom he is murdering that he is far from this crime; inasmuch as he persuades nothing to any person but such things as are pleasant to man in this life, things which every one especially desires, and which are eminently calculated to render a passage through the world agreeable. For what else has Satan ever proposed except honours, except riches, except pleasures, except, in fine, all things which seem to render life pleasant and plainly blest? Now, if this defence by no means acquits Satan from the guilt of homicide, neither will it avail you, who have been his minister in fulfilling the king's lust and covetousness in the base love of a woman, in honours that were unlawful" (the supremacy, probably), "in gaining riches and wealth unjustly" (by suppressing monasteries, &c.), "whom you, although you sought not his death, yet by this means killed in a most cruel manner, and through him a great many others. For you offered to him that kind of poison which defies all human aid, and you acted thus while you were cloaking his desires under the appearance of justice; in this manner, truly, you more destroyed his mind by lust than if, pander-like, you

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had brought immodest women to him; in rapine more than if you had been his attendant and guide upon an undisguised marauding expedition.”*

To Cranmer is, in fine, offered the example of the penitent thief upon the cross; and he is exhorted to look upon his present sufferings as the just reward of his past iniquities.

This might be regarded as an ebullition of temper, or the proof of a want of generosity on the part of Pole, if it were a solitary case; but to the end the same spirit is displayed in a fixed determination to make manifest his zeal against heretics. However much he might be suspected by his enemies of an inclination to Lutheranism, he determined that they should no longer be able to accuse him as “the fautor of heretics.” If he erred on the side of leniency at Viterbo, this charge should not be repeated now when he had become the primate of all England. The proceedings at the two universities under his sanction, and under the immediate direction of his confidential friend, were not only cruel but puerile. On the 26th of October, 1556, Sir John Mason, Kt., Dean of Winchester, resigned the chancellorship of the University of Oxford; and Reginald Pole was on the same day appointed his successor.† In the same year he succeeded Bishop Gardyner as Chancellor of Cambridge. Pole had not, however, waited for these appointments; he had previously issued a commission for holding a visitation of each university. Pole, in his zeal for the pope, and for the establishment of papal supremacy, always preferred to act on his legatine authority, by which he had convened a synod of the Church; when, by a short delay, he might have accomplished all that he effected, as primate of Eng-

* Ep. Poli, v. 344.

† Hardy's *Le Neve*, iii. 468.

land, in a convocation. And now, instead of exercising his ordinary jurisdiction, in either university, for the correction of their abuses, he thought fit to act under a licence from the pope; and at the head of each commission he placed a foreigner, Nicholas Ormanetto, in whom, says Wood, "nothing was more notable than his intolerable arrogance, in which he did so much excel that nothing could be imagined more."* No other reason can be assigned for this commission than the fact that, as Ormanetto was datary to the pope, his presence was intended to remind the people continually of the supremacy now claimed for a foreign prelate, and that the Church of England was no longer free to govern herself.

The condition of Oxford was at this time deplorable, and the consequent need of reform was urgent. This is the more remarkable, for we have, in a previous chapter, described the flourishing state of the university in the reign of Henry VIII., when Warham was chancellor, when Erasmus was one of the professors, and Dean Colet a leading reformer. It reflects great disgrace upon the government of Edward VI., and explains the reason why it was so difficult, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to find preachers competent to instruct the people from the pulpit. There were scarcely any resident masters of arts. There was not a sufficient number of divines to perform the statutable exercises. The divinity school was shut up. The salary of the Margaret professor was employed in repairing the public buildings. The university sermon was preached only once in a month. The professors seldom read lectures. The study of Greek had fallen into neglect.

* Wood, *Annals*, ii. pt. i. 133. Wood, in this place, for Oxford, and Cooper (ii. 102) for Cambridge, are my chief authorities for these statements.

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The report of the state of the university was transmitted to the cardinal, who, when, at the end of the year, he had become chancellor, caused certain statutes to be drawn up, of which favourable mention is made. We are not to ignore the good thus accomplished, on account of the absurdities, and worse than absurdities, of which the visitors were guilty. Of something worse than absurdity they were guilty when by them all the translations of Scripture into the vulgar tongue on which they could lay their hands, together with commentaries in the same language, were publicly burned in the market-place. The same fate awaited any books written by Protestants abroad or circulated by gospellers at home. Libraries and private houses were searched for the forbidden treasures, and their former possessors, at peril of their lives, were obliged to hide themselves. Most of the reputed heretics appear to have made their escape; the commissioners therefore expended their zeal upon the dead.

Catherine Cathie, or Dampmartin, having become the wife of Dr. Peter Martyr, had settled with her husband at Oxford when he became a professor in the university. She had died about four years before the visitation, and had been buried in the cathedral of Christ Church,* near the relics of St. Frideswide. It was not to be tolerated, that the body of a wedded nun should remain in such a vicinity; and if it could be discovered that she had been a heretic, her body ought to be burned instead of buried. But here arose the difficulty. The commissioners could not, it was said, burn the corpse, unless the person by

* Upon the dissolution of the abbey of Osney, Henry VIII. created a bishopric out of its possessions, and in 1542 placed the see at Osney (Pat. 34, Henry VIII. p. 6, m. 9). It was then removed to St. Frideswide's priory church in Oxford, by charter dated 9th of June, 1545 (Fœdera, xv. 75).

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whom the corpse at one time had been animated, were proved to be a heretic. There was no doubt upon the subject in the minds of the commissioners, but they were just men, and could not, of course, condemn even a dead body without sufficient evidence; while to obtain the necessary evidence was nearly impossible. If she ever uttered heretical opinions, she must have done so in German, for she knew no other language; and whether her utterances were heretical or not no one could say, for by the enemies of her husband, reputed orthodox, and who had watched her with suspicion, German was not understood. The case was so important, in the opinion of the commissioners, that it was referred to the cardinal himself. He, having by this time become chancellor of the university, gave judgment on the 7th of November, in a letter addressed to the Dean of Christ Church, Dr. Marshall, in which it was said:—"Forasmuch as Catherine Cathie, of detestable memory, who professed herself the legitimate wife of Peter Martyr, a heretic, though he and she before marriage entered into solemn vows of religion, and for that she had lived with him at Oxford in cursed fornication, when he denied the truth of the Sacrament; and for that also after her death she was buried near the sepulchre of that religious virgin St. Frideswide, he should according to his discretion deal so with her carcass that it shall be far enough cast from ecclesiastical sepulture."

The matter being thus left to the discretion of the dean, he commanded the body of Mrs. Martyr to be disinterred, and to be deposited on the dunghill which stood at the door of his stable.*

* It is profitable to observe how the same evil passions may exist in the minds of men who, in their avowed principles, differ widely the one from the other, and the reader may be interested in following this

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At Cambridge the churches of St. Mary and St. Michael were placed under an interdict, because in the former Bucer had been buried, and Fagius in the latter. A process was adopted against these distinguished scholars, similar to that which provoked an incredulous smile, when we had to narrate the destruction of the shrine of

story to its conclusion. I give it as narrated by Wood. "The body was buried in the dunghill: here it remained for about five years, and then, Queen Elizabeth being settled, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and others, commanded some of the house to remove her; but Mr. James Calfhill, being then sub-dean, took the care of the business on himself, and straightway going to the place where she had been cast, caused his servants to dig up the body; which, being viewed, some flesh with whiteness thereon was found remaining (though the bones by time and too much moisture were disjointed), and putting it into a coffin, reposed it for the present time in the cathedral, till opportunity served when she might be buried again with solemnity. In the mean time Mr. Calfhill made search for the reliques of St. Frideswyde, which were supposed to have been taken from the repository (where they had for hundreds of years rested) and hid by some of the Catholics, till occasion offered when they might with safety be conveyed away. At length finding them in the obscurest place of the church, carefully put up in two silken bags (the colour of them inclining through time and too much handling to black), he put them in the said coffin, where the bones of P. Martyr's wife lay, with an intent to bury them soon after together. At length, the appointed time being come, which was the third of the Ides of Jan., an. 1561, the people, by notice given, came; and after an oration uttered at her grave in her praise, mixt with divers scoffs at the reliques of St. Frideswyde, she was then the third time interred; and the next day being Sunday, Mr. Robert Rogerson, of Christ Church, spake very honourably of her in his sermon to the people. Thus then was an end put to this business, and to the reliques of St. Frideswyde, which before were so religiously kept by the canons of the priory bearing that name, together with that tradition, that 'if the said reliques were removed from their proper place, the structure of the church would forthwith fall and be dissolved.' All that I shall further deliver is, that when they were thus buried and coupled together, a certain scholar made this epitaph: 'Hic jacet religio cum superstitione.'"—A. Wood, II. ii. 134.

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St. Thomas of Canterbury. The two dead men were publicly cited to appear before the visitors either personally or by proxy. The citations were duly affixed to the public buildings. Witnesses against them were sworn on the 18th, and examined on the 19th. The accused were again cited on the 20th, and for a third time on the 23rd of the month. On the 26th, the vice-chancellor, regents, non-regents, and all the students of the university assembled in St. Mary's Church; whither also came in state the mayor, the aldermen, and the other members of the corporation. When all were seated, the great door of the church was thrown open, and the visitors entered in solemn procession. They took their places on a tribunal erected within the choir. The vice-chancellor, in his full academicals, drew near and exhibited the third citation to the dead men. They were required to come into the court. They would not or could not obey. Under either contingency they were condemned for acting in contempt of court. The Bishop of Chester, Dr. Scott, addressed the university; and at the conclusion of his address he produced a scroll, from which he read the verdict by which Bucer and Fagius were pronounced to be heretics. Judgment was given: the bodies were to be disinterred; they were to be degraded from holy orders, and the corpses were to be delivered to the hands of the secular power. The vice-chancellor preached from Psalm cxxxiii.: "Behold how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell in unity;" reflecting upon Bucer's doctrine as having caused a division in the commonwealth. During this sermon "the leaves of the church doors were covered over with verses, in the which the young men, to show their folly (which scarce knew him by sight), blazed Bucer's name with most shameful and reproachful terms." The vice-chancellor, at the conclu-

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sion of his sermon, went to Trinity College with the visitors. They dined together; and after dinner the sentence of condemnation was copied out, sealed with the Bishop of Chester's seal; and the next day it was sent to the cardinal in London, with some of the verses and letters, desiring "his grace that he would cause it to be sent out of hand to Smith, the mayor of the town — the commandment that is of ordinary by the law, commonly called a writ, for the burning of heretics. For, unless he had the queen's warrant to save him harmless, he would not have to do in the matter."*

On the 1st of February, the messenger returned from London with the writ *De Hæretico comburendo*; and on the 6th, the mayor having signified that all things were in readiness, so far as he was concerned, the bodies were exhumed. The mayor had required certain townsmen to attend him in harness; and by them the dead bodies were guarded. Bucer, in the coffin in which he was buried, and Fagius, in one made for the occasion, were placed on men's shoulders, and with a large crowd following them, they were carried into the middle of the market-place. A large stake had there been dug into the ground, "to bind the carcasses to," and piled round were fagots of wood. The coffins were set on end with the dead bodies in them, fastened at both ends with stakes, and bound to the central post with a long iron chain. The multitude, we are told, were filled with detestation and horror, though scarcely any one could abstain from laughing at the folly of making "such a to-do" for the protection of rotten carcasses. They did not understand that the visitor feared—what would probably have occurred had not these precautions been taken—an uproar among these very persons, and an at-

* Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, ii. 117.

tempt to rescue the insulted dead from the malignant folly of their opponents. What they now only ridiculed might have excited them to acts of violence, if the men in harness were not standing near the corpses.

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While the mayor and the civil authorities were thus employed, the Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. White, was preaching at St. Mary's. He commenced his sermon between eight and nine o'clock, and it was nearly eleven before he finished. The subject of his discourse was the wicked and heretical doctrine of Bucer. On Sunday, the 7th, the Bishop of Chester came to St. Mary's, at half-past six, to hallow the church. He first hallowed a large tub of water, into which he put salt, ashes, and wine; and going round the outside of the church once, and inside thrice, he sprinkled the building with the consecrated element. His chaplain said mass, and the bishop concluded with the sermon.

For these iniquitous proceedings we must hold Pole responsible. Accused by the pope of heresy, and with his conduct narrowly watched by those for whose cause he was sinning, and by whom he was nevertheless regarded with suspicion; knowing that, from dislike of his influence with the queen, politicians, whose inclinations were certainly not towards Rome, were ready nevertheless to act with Rome for his destruction, he did not dare to give his enemies an opportunity of calling in question his zeal in the suppression of heresy, and in the prosecution of all who were suspected of holding heretical opinions.

The arguments adduced to clear Pole of the guilt, when he is made responsible for the severities which disgraced our Church and country after the death of Gardyner, seem only to prove him to have been the more culpable. We must never forget that, by one word uttered by him,

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the fires of Smithfield would have ceased to blaze. It is said—and we admit, as we have done all along, in palliation of the offence—that he only let the law take its course. It was this that blinded his eyes, and the eyes of his royal mistress; but still the fact remains. Gardyner, we know, relented. It is possible, and even probable, that, had he lived, some mitigation of the legal penalties might have been adopted; but, again I say it with regret—for I have not concealed from myself or the reader the many amiable qualities with which Pole was endowed—that while, on the one hand, the prosecution of heretics became more severe after the death of the conscience-smitten Gardyner, the severest measures occurred quite at the close of Pole's life. It was as late as the 28th of March, 1558, that he issued orders to his commissary-general, Archdeacon Harpsfield, and four others, requiring them to reject from the society of the faithful, and to deliver up to the secular power, all the "*pertinaces et obstinates*" who adhered to their heresies. I have already remarked, that he went so far as to do what had never been done before, and to direct that for the offenders search should be made. The last public document that Pole signed was an advertisement, dated the 7th of July, only four months before his death, to certify to the queen, that the five persons he named, two of them females, had confessed and defended their heresies; and that as, through their determination not to be convinced, nothing further could be done for them by the Church, these relapsed heretics were left to the secular arm *condigna animadversione*.*

We are quite willing to admit the force of the palliative argument as far as it goes, that Cranmer, when he was in power, sent those whom he regarded as heretics to

* The documents are to be found in Wilkins, iv. 167.

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the stake, and that Servetus came to his death by Calvin. All were what we should now call persecutors.

The dogmas of Christianity were regarded from two points of view, when the union between Church and State was, in theory, complete. It was not till the dissolution, or rather the modification, of that union that persecution ceased. The dogmas of Christianity, viewed from the Church stand-point, were the Scriptural truths as received and recognized by the councils of the Church. If any one assumed the right of private judgment—that is, as the word signifies, if he were a heretic—the Church held itself bound to have recourse to all legitimate arts of persuasion; and if these failed, to deny to the offender the sacraments: in other words, to excommunicate him. This was all the Church could do. But a Christian state, having accepted the dogmas of the Church, made them the laws of the land. We have still existing an example of the mode in which this principle can be acted upon. The Book of Common Prayer is the form of devotion, and, to a certain extent, the rule of doctrine, to the Church of England. But the Book of Common Prayer, drawn up by convocation of the clergy, has been also adopted by parliament. It is also an Act of Parliament. It is on this ground, and on this ground only, that a person violating the regulations of the Prayer Book can be subjected to civil penalties. So in the mediæval times, when a man was condemned for asserting his private judgment in opposition to the judgment of the Church, and had become a heretic, he was handed over to the civil authorities. They had only to inquire whether he had violated the law. If he had violated the law, and would not offer guarantees for his future obedience to it, he was subjected to the penalties of that code which for a long time afterwards deserved the character of being a bloody code. He

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was excommunicated as a disobedient churchman ; he was executed as a disobedient subject.

It is no part of my duty, as an historian, to vindicate the character of any personages the events of whose life I have to record ; but it is my duty to endeavour to ascertain what their motives really were—a widely different thing from *attributing* motives—and to explain their conduct. I have been led into the remarks which I have just made, because, regarding persecution in the light of modern thought, we are surprised to find that, when Pole was solemnly reviewing his past life, before his appearance at the tribunal of a Divine Judge, it never occurred to him to feel a single pang of remorse for the share he had in those proceedings, which are to our minds the disgrace of Queen Mary's reign. It is not difficult, with the statements now made before us, to understand his position, whatever may be our own opinion of the guilt it involves. He was not the maker of the law, but only its administrator. If he interfered with the administration of the law to save the life of any one who was by the law condemned, he took great credit to himself ; what he did in this respect was proof of the kindness of his disposition ; and though some were blaming him as culpably weak, he knew that he was winning his way secretly into the hearts of many who loved mercy, and thought the law unnecessarily severe. But if circumstances should arise which rendered severity politic, the administrator of the law was not bound to interfere for a suspension of its operation. It was a meritorious act to interpose between justice and its victim, when this could be done without detriment to the public service ; but if the public service required the execution of the law, there was no cause of blame, so it would appear to him, in allowing the law take its course.

So dear to our hearts are the interests of commerce, that, within our own memory, Fauntleroy was hanged for forgery; so vigilant were our fathers in their zeal for the rights of property, that many a starving fellow-creature has been condemned to death for sheep-stealing; so sacred are the game laws, that men are still destroyed like vermin, who cannot be made to understand, that the rights of property extend over birds or beasts which they regard as being wild. We must mete out the same measure to Pole and to Mary: they felt, that the country would cease to be a Christian land, if men were permitted to exercise their private judgment in religious matters, contrary to the decision of those councils which were regarded as expressing the one voice of Christendom. We are, at the same time, to remember that, under the cruel code then in actual existence, great as was the number of those who suffered in the cause of religion, it was as nothing in comparison with the number of those consigned, without compunction, to a death, if possible more cruel, for political offences. Hundreds were condemned for uttering sentiments which we should now regard as patriotic, but which were at that time treasonable. For one person executed in this reign for religion, there were a hundred butchered for treason; that is, for a contention on behalf of civil liberty against an intolerable despotism. We express disgust, and we are justified in doing so, at the unfeeling coarsenesses of Bonner, but surely we ought to feel equal disgust at reading such a sentence as the following:—"The queen granted a general pardon to the people of Kent—after having caused *five score* of the most guilty to be executed." The sentence occurs in a letter from Renard to the emperor. This is not said to palliate the law's extreme severity, but to account for the fact, that neither Mary

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nor Pole, nor any other member of the privy council, ever felt any compunctious visitings of conscience for having permitted the law to take its course. To execute five score was considered an act of mercy ; and, in sparing the other guilty persons, Mary felt entitled to call herself merciful.

Any really merciful person will admit the full force of these palliating and explanatory circumstances, and, in my desire to do justice to all persons, I have alluded to them more than once. I am inclined to think much more severely of Pole's case. When we remember that his temper was merciful, and when we compare the leniency of his government at Viterbo with the severity he exhibited in England, we attribute the change in his conduct to a selfishness awfully criminal. It is impossible not to perceive, that he let the law take its course without an attempt on his part to mitigate its ferocity, in order that his zeal against heresy in England might be a sufficient answer to those who denounced him as a heretic at Rome. He writhed under the charge of heresy ; and he gave vent to his "wrath," as usual, in a treatise, in which the language he employed was so violent, that when it was written he dared not transmit it to Rome ; but, making a merit of necessity, he made a boast of his unwillingness to expose his father's nakedness. When the pope had expressed himself satisfied that Pole was unjustly charged with heresy, the cardinal, who had been delated before the Inquisition, made repeated and pathetic applications to that tribunal, that his name might be erased from their books, and that to his character no suspicion of heresy might attach. The inquisitors were aware, that Paul IV. would be better pleased if they took no steps to meet the demands of Pole, and Reginald Pole remained under charge of

heresy. Pole went further than any other member of the queen's government; he prosecuted not only heretics, but those ordinaries also, who were doing in England what he had himself done in Italy; who neglected to search for heretics, or connived at their escape.*

We have already adverted to the violence of the reforming party, which was certainly a sufficient ground for putting the law in force; for there can be no doubt that, while great and good men were sacrificing life, and much that was dearer than life, in the cause of God's truth or the Gospel, there were many who, under the guise of religion, were only aiming at revolution civil and religious. It was certainly for the repression of the libellous publications to which we have adverted, that the first of those measures was adopted to which the character of persecution has been attached. Religion and politics are strangely jumbled together. A commission was issued to certain officers of state, crown lawyers, civilians, six peers, to whom were added two bishops and a dean, to make inquiry into all cases of heresy and libel, and to report upon them. These commissioners could punish by fine or imprisonment for minor offences; but those who were convened before the commission upon the charge of heresy were to be transmitted to their proper ordinaries. "The commissioners," says Heylin, "or any three or more of them, were empowered to inquire of all and singular heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and all false tales, rumours, seditious or slanderous words, &c.; as also to seize into their hands all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters and writings, wheresoever they or any of them should be found, as well in printers' houses and shops as elsewhere; willing them

* Wilkins, iv. 121.

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and every of them to search for the same in all places, according to their discretion; and, finally, to inquire after all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed Sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or come to their parish churches; and all such as refuse to go on procession, to take holy bread or holy water, or otherwise misuse themselves in any church or hallowed place, &c. The party so offending to be proceeded against according to the ecclesiastical laws, or otherwise by fine or imprisonment, as to them seemed best.”*

The effect of this proclamation was awful; it resulted in the sacrifice of five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers or skilled artisans, one hundred husbandmen and persons in the humblest classes of society, together with twenty-six women.

I take the number from Heylin; the names of the sufferers may be found in Maitland. When we consult the pages of partisan historians we are astonished at two things. We marvel, on the one hand, at those advocates of the Romanist party in England, who think to benefit their cause by entering into controversy with reference to the *number* of the sufferers. It matters nothing, when they are accused of a persecuting spirit, whether that spirit was manifested in the execution of ten or of a hundred. We are surprised, on the other hand, to find

* See the commission in Burnet's Collectanea. By those who divest their minds of party prejudice, offence is justly taken when this commission is compared to the Inquisition, which Pole is, without a shadow of evidence, accused of an intention to introduce. This commission consisted of a majority of laymen; the commissioners had no authority to try heterodoxy or to put offenders “upon making an act of faith.” They were not to pronounce sentence, but rather to act as a grand jury, and to hand offenders to their ordinaries—that is, to judges sitting in open court—and their inquiries were to be made by means of a jury. We never gain a cause by overstating the case.

Protestants asserting, that persecution was confined to the Romanists, and that it is one of the ingrained vices of their system. I am aware, that to deny this will provoke indignation, but if we rely on the facts of history, we must admit that the spirit of persecution was exhibited on both sides ; that it still exists, though confined now to libels and the circulation of falsehood ; that the un-renewed heart of man, whether Romanist or Protestant, is an intolerant heart ; that the intolerance displays itself, as we have elsewhere said, in politics, in literature, in science, as well as in religion ; and that the only remedy is in a prayer for that new heart of which the abiding principle is charity, and which, while it speaks the truth, speaks that truth in love. It is under these feelings that I am happy to adopt the words of a Roman Catholic writer, who, in his edition of Dodd, while maintaining his own, has proved himself to be an honest man and an impartial historian. “As to the number and character,” says Mr. Tierney, “of the sufferers, certain it is that no allowance can relieve the horror, no palliatives can remove the infamy, that must for ever attach to these proceedings. The account of real victims is too great to be affected by any partial deductions. Were the catalogue limited to a few persons, we might perhaps pause to examine the merits of each individual ; but when, after the removal of every doubtful or objectionable name, a frightful list of not fewer than two hundred remains, we can only turn with horror from the blood-stained page, and be thankful that such things have passed away.” *

There remains another difficulty to be solved. We can understand how five bishops and twenty-one divines should be willing to suffer death rather than accept the dogma of transubstantiation, because they would see how

* Note to Dodd, ii. 107.

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that dogma vitiates the whole character of the Sacrament while tending, when developed, to superstitions which tend to overthrow the very foundations of Christian truth. They being placed by Divine Providence in a prominent position, received a Divine call, from that very circumstance, to sacrifice their lives, if the sacrifice of life were necessary to protest against error and to establish truth. But the majority of the sufferers were uneducated men ; and when their characters are investigated, as has been done by Dr. Maitland, several who died in the flames were not men who had shown much earnestness in the cause of religion, or whose moral characters were, in all cases, unimpeachable. They could not understand the theological bearings of the question to which they refused to give the answer which would have saved their lives. But they knew this, that the real question was, Shall the Church of England and the whole realm be brought into subjection to a foreign power ? or shall the torch of liberty be lighted and receive fresh vigour from the flames by which their bodies were consumed ? To them the question was,—Rome or England ? And we have then only to refer to an ultimate fact in human nature, which causes us to experience a high and holy pleasure in self-sacrifice ; while he who has sacrificed his life for a cause or person to which or to whom he is attached, becomes an object of the world's admiration and respect. It is this feeling that sends the patriotic soldier to the field of battle ; and it is for the excitement and encouragement of this feeling, that the highest honours of the country are reserved for the military profession. Among the peers of the realm, a large number, if not the majority, are indebted for their peerage to some ancestor distinguished for his valour on the field of battle or the deck of a mar-of-war. "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori ;*" and this

feeling descends even to those conspirators, who, when pledged to support, it may be, an unrighteous cause, are prepared to die rather than to betray their accomplices. How powerful such a principle became we can easily understand, when they who died sacrificed their lives to the cause of God, and left the world as blessed martyrs with a halo of glory round their heads—immortalized.

To the feeling of which we have given a description Pole himself was not a stranger. We have seen that, throughout his career, his ambition was to win, with the minimum of suffering, though his sufferings were magnified in his own sight, the fame, if not of a martyr, yet of a confessor. He thought that, in his opposition to the governments of Henry and Edward, he was sacrificing self to the cause of the papacy. The feeling that he was making this sacrifice seemed to be his consolation under all his difficulties and trials. His selfishness did not manifest itself until the representative of the cause for which he had, in his own estimation, made great sacrifices, uttered a suspicion that he was himself a heretic. He had been merciful; and being so, he was prompted by the impulses of a heart naturally sensitive and kind, but, at the same time, under the conviction that mercy was the best policy. By his leniency in Italy he had brought men verging to Protestantism back to Romanism; and his leniency was a proof, as he contended, of his wisdom. It was certainly not an indication of disloyalty to the cause he had faithfully served, and which he was now accused of betraying. In the intensity of a selfishness not recognized by himself, the self-deceiver permitted the fires of Smithfield to turn wives into widows and children into orphans, that through those terrible fires it might be known at Rome that his former leniency was no proof of his want of sincerity in the papal cause.

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When the time came that by severity that cause was to be supported, he could be among the most severe.

At the same time, his indignation was aroused; and although he would permit others to suffer, rather than that he should lie under suspicion of being a heretic, he could dare the anger of the pope in vindication of the character of a friend. He could not be accused of heresy for vindicating the character of Priuli; and what has just been said renders his conduct more meritorious, when injustice was done to Priuli on the sole ground that, for a quarter of a century, he had been the friend of Pole.

Priuli, it will be remembered, was a Venetian of noble birth, and, at the request of the Republic of Venice, Julius III. had provided for him by making him the reverendary grant of the bishopric of Brescia. The vacancy did not actually occur until the time of Paul IV.; and Paul refused to ratify the provision of his predecessor. Reginald Pole felt a just indignation at the pope's conduct; and at the same time he availed himself of the opportunity which the occasion offered, of giving utterance to complaints equally just in regard to the treatment he had himself experienced at the hands of the reigning pontiff. He commenced his letter to the pope with a eulogy well deserved upon Priuli, who had followed him through all the vicissitudes of a chequered life, and who had sacrificed to friendship the ambitious hopes which the representative of one of the noblest families in Venice had a right to entertain.

"But who art thou, perhaps your holiness will ask, who, having been thyself delated before the Inquisition on a charge of heresy, darest to give a testimonial so complete to the man whose cause thou dost plead? I answer, that I am one better qualified than any one else can be, from long intimacy, to bear testimony to the

merits of him in whose behalf I write—I, who of all men have most cause to be the enemy of heretics and schismatics, since every calamity that I have suffered is traceable to them; and how many and continuous my calamities have been, all suffered for the cause of religion, no one knows better than your holiness. But some one may say, What weight can be attached to the commendation of one whose own orthodoxy is impeached? I answer, that the services I have rendered to the Roman Church and to religion ought to outweigh the calumnies of those whom I defy to substantiate the charges they bring against me.” He proceeds to remark, that it had been urged by his adversaries, that in the incarceration of his very dear friend Cardinal Morone, and in the withdrawal from himself of the legatine powers with which he had been invested, his guilt was implied by the pope; and he then in no very measured language ventures to bring his holiness himself to account.

His case was a strong one, but he damaged it, as usual, by his rambling style and his verbosity; concluding, however, with an argument that was incontestible, that if those who were sent on a mission to put down heresy were themselves to be denounced as heretical, it was absurd to expect the success of the mission. To prove the fidelity of his servants, the Lord Jesus Christ would sometimes subject them to much affliction, but when their faithfulness was once established, He would restore them to peace and happiness. Pole’s prayer, therefore, was, that the vicar of Christ might have grace to tread in his Heavenly Master’s steps, and, whatever may have been the original cause of the proceedings, re-instate in the regions of light and life one who had been sorely tried in the furnace of affliction, thus consulting the dignity of himself, of the false-accused, and of the Sacred College.

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It was not on private grounds only that Paul sought to involve Pole in difficulties, which to a person in his infirm state of health, and with honest intentions, must have been almost unbearable. Pole had, as we have seen, stipulated, as the price of establishing the papal supremacy in our Church, that the alienated property of abbeys and shrines should remain with their present possessors, and be for ever in the market. He determined to abide honourably by his promise, and when, his undertaking having prospered beyond all expectation, the queen evinced an inclination to evade, if not to violate, her promise, she met with no support from Pole. He was aware that his success, which had far surpassed his most sanguine expectations, was, to a very great extent, attributable to the fact that the persons in possession of the confiscated monastic property should not be disturbed in the possession of it, and he had acted with the concurrence of Julius III. He was aware, that he could not have entered England without exposing himself to considerable danger, if he had not succeeded in persuading the queen and the pope, however reluctantly, to sanction the stipulation. But another pope now reigned in Rome, and for consistency the popes have seldom cared, when by inconsistency their political objects could be effected. Pope Paul IV. therefore did not hesitate to declare it to be the indispensable duty of the possessors of the confiscated lands to restore them to the Church. The neglect of this duty, he declared, would involve offenders in the penalty of eternal damnation. Thus did Paul IV. prepare the way for the reformation of Queen Elizabeth; for though his immediate object—if he had an object beyond that of placing Pole in a cruel dilemma—was not answered, he taught the English people to understand that a pope's word was not to be relied upon as sacred. They

were not slow to perceive that the reigning pontiff, whoever he might be, was at liberty to reverse the stipulations entered into by his predecessors. But in the weak, vacillating, impassioned, and superstitious mind of the poor queen, the implied anathema of the pope had the effect he intended. She tampered with some of the lords, and caused others to be sounded as to the passing of a bill for the restoration of such lands as, having formerly belonged to the monasteries, had been confiscated to the crown, and had passed through the crown into other hands. She soon found, however, that her crown itself would not remain firm on her head if she persevered. A disturbance was raised within the very walls of parliament; and noble lords clapped their hands upon their swords, declaring that, so long as they were able to wear a sword by their side, with their abbey lands they would never part.

The astuteness of Gardyner found the means of satisfying the weak and scrupulous conscience of the queen. The tenths and first-fruits of benefices had been attached to the crown by parliament in the reign of Henry VIII., to enable that monarch to perform with dignity the newly created office, repudiated by Elizabeth as well as by Mary, of supreme head of our Church. Although the office was created before the Reformation, and Mary had for a time assumed it, yet she soon renounced it, and she did not, in consequence, require the additional income. The restoration of that portion of the Church property which was not in the market, and in which the crown alone was interested, parliament might be prevailed upon to sanction.*

* The history of that property is remarkable. It was originally a papal usurpation: it was taken from the pope and attached to the crown by Henry VIII.; it was given to the Church by Queen Mary; it was again

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But even to carry this measure the queen had to encounter considerable difficulty. While the bill was before the House, Gardyner, who introduced it, died. Although Pole would not oppose and would administer the funds if parliament granted them, he evidently did not enter cordially into the scheme. He is represented as having delivered a speech, in which he showed that tithes and the impropriation of spiritual benefices belonged of Divine right to the Church; but even if he went so far as this, which may be doubted, he left it to the queen to bear the whole responsibility. He felt his honour to be concerned, and whatever his wishes may have been, he would not evade his promises. Her ministers counselled the queen to act in a manner which would now be called unconstitutional. She summoned a deputation from each house of parliament into her presence, and explained her wish, together with the reasons just laid before the reader on which it was grounded. The answer was, that this now formed a portion of the royal revenue; if it were subtracted from the treasury as proposed, the people would be taxed to make up the deficiency. The queen cut the matter short. If the people would only look upon the subject in a pecuniary point of view, she would run all risks, for she preferred the salvation of her soul before ten such kingdoms. Even then the measure was passed with great difficulty. On referring to the journal of the House of Lords, we find that the bill was introduced on the 20th of November, and passed there, after three readings, on the 23rd, the Earl of Hertford and Lord Cobham signing protests. It was sent, that

attached to the crown by Queen Elizabeth; it was restored to the Church by Queen Anne; and now, through the medium of Queen Anne's Bounty Board, it is administered by the bishops and deans of the English Church for the augmentation of poor benefices.

day, to the Commons, who detained it for some time, and it was returned, on the 3rd of December, with amendments to which the Lords assented.*

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The queen was not, at that time, accountable to parliament for the expenditure of the national income; that income was regarded by the sovereign as his or her own property, and the sovereign had as much command over it as any nobleman or gentleman of the income accruing from his own estates. The queen, therefore, was able to satisfy her own conscience, by devoting to religious purposes whatever income she derived from the abbey lands. People did not complain when she did what she thought fit to do with her own. She spent her money, therefore, in restoring certain conventual establishments: the Grey Friars, as we have seen, at Greenwich; the Carthusians at Sheen; and the Benedictines at Westminster. Here they replaced the establishment of Henry VIII., who, having ousted the Regulars, had established a college of secular priests, such as they still exist under the title of Dean and Prebendaries.† The Benedictines being restored, Feckenham was made abbot.

* Parliamentary Hist. p. 344. Grafton says the queen acted by the advice of the cardinal and the clergy. This assertion is made without any proof, according to the puritan system of making the clergy, because they were Romanizing, the authors of all evil. Pole was certainly not her adviser on this occasion, and what Grafton attributes to him was the assertion of Paul IV., from which we know Pole dissented.

† "Doctor Weston, being prolocutor of the convocation house, was at this time in displeasure with Cardinal Pole and other bishops, because he was unwilling to resign his deanery of Westminster to the queen, whose purpose was to place there (as in old time before) the religion of monks, whom, indeed, he favoured not, although in all other things he stood with the Church of Rome. Nevertheless, by very importune suit, or rather compulsion, he with his colleagues resigned the deanery of Westminster. In recompense whereof he was made Dean of Windsor, where, not long after, he was apprehended in adultery, and for that fact

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The restoration of the Benedictines was at the instigation of Pole, who had the honour of being the patron of the order, in the College of Cardinals. Each monastic institute, it seems, at this time placed itself under the patronage of a cardinal ; and Pole evinced his zeal for the Benedictines by opposing a proposal of Ignatius Loyola. To Pole, as a reformer, Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits, made application, it would appear, for the employment of the confiscated property of the English Benedictines, not for the re-institution of the Benedictines, but for the establishment of the new order—that of the Jesuits—in England. His proposal was reasonable enough. The Benedictine property was confiscated. The queen would not employ it for her own use—but what should she do with it ? She re-established, as we have said, certain monasteries in localities to which she was attached ; but she had no particular attachment to the Benedictines, nor any special prejudices in favour of Westminster Abbey. The new order of Ignatius had been established to meet the very objects which Pole and the queen had at heart ; he sought to retain all that was intrinsically excellent in the monastic system, but, at the same time, carefully to avoid what was not consistent with the spirit of the age. The whole subject is involved in some obscurity, for there

was by the cardinal deprived of all his spiritual livings, from which sentence he appealed to the court of Rome. For the following of which appeal he sought secretly to depart the realm ; but he was apprehended by the way and committed to the Tower of London, where he remained prisoner until, by the death of Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, by whom he was set at liberty, and forthwith fell sick and died. The common talk was that if he had not so suddenly died, he would have disclosed purpose the of the chief of the clergy (meaning the cardinal), which was to have taken up King Henry's body at Windsor, to have burnt it, as many thought."—Grafton's Chronicle, p. 556.

is not, that I am aware of, any definite statement made upon the subject, which we adopt rather as an inference from the correspondence between Pole and Ignatius. The subject has, indeed, assumed an importance of late years, which did not attach to it at the period of which we are speaking. Pole, it is certain, rejected the proposal of Ignatius Loyola, and in this sense it is true that he opposed the introduction of Jesuitism into England; but then it is to be borne in mind, that Jesuitism was in its infancy, that it had not been developed into that system which has excited the just indignation of many, even among Roman Catholics, by whom it has been severely condemned. Ignatius Loyola was a friend and correspondent of Pole, and however mistaken we must consider him to have been, he was a good and great man; it was not therefore from hostility to Ignatius or his order that Pole rejected the proposal of Ignatius, but it was from love of, and duty to, the Benedictines. The Benedictines had been the former occupants of the abbey; and Pole advised their restoration. That to his influence their restoration is to be attributed, is to be inferred from a letter of Priuli given in the fifth volume of Quirini, where he remarks, that Feckenham was appointed abbot for only three years; Pole being of opinion, in his character of a reformer, that the office of abbot should be a terminable, and not a permanent one.*

* It is said that a similar proposal is under consideration with regard to the headship of one of the colleges at Oxford. It is curious to remark upon a liberal movement of the present day harmonizing with a theory of Cardinal Pole. Of the several religious houses restored by Queen Mary one only remains. She established a hospital at the Savoy, of which the chapel remains. It was a few years ago destroyed by fire, but it has been rebuilt by the munificence of Queen Victoria. It was restored to the memory of that great and good man, the late Prince Consort, under the special guidance of her Majesty, before whom the

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Strype has discovered an address from the cardinal to the citizens of London, without a date ; and I am inclined to believe that it was delivered at this period, being intended as a farewell address to London before his retirement to his diocese : for as Wolsey to York, so was Cardinal Pole determined to repair to Canterbury, there, as a diocesan, to win the good-will of the people, as he had won it in former times, when he acted as the papal legate at Viterbo. He had refused, from a sense of honour, to take an active part in any measures which had reference to the confiscated property of the Church ; but in his secret heart he rejoiced in what had been done, and would defend a principle on which he wished others to act, although, as a matter of expediency, he forbore to enforce its observance.

He would not insist upon any restoration of the abbey lands ; but it was a very different thing to advise men to restore them to the Church spontaneously, and to act so as they had the queen for an example. It was a course pursued by a weak mind, seeking to please all parties, and so giving real satisfaction neither to the one side nor to the other. It was St. Andrew's day—the day of all others the most sacred to him, the anniversary of his temporary triumph over the liberties of his native Church and realm. He seems to have invited the Lord Mayor and the magnates of the City to meet him at Lambeth, and there he addressed to them the speech he had carefully prepared. He referred pathetically to the religious houses which had been suppressed, the churches that had been destroyed, the ecclesiastical revenues that had been secularized. He reminded the merchants of London

plans were laid, and by whom many important suggestions were offered. By the zeal and energy of the present chaplain the chapel has become a blessing to the neighbourhood.

of the share they had in the plunder. "He exhorted them to follow the queen's example, and to prove their regret for the sacrilege of which the whole nation had been guilty, by contributing towards the restoration of some among the many religious houses which had been destroyed in the late reign. This would be an act profitable to the realm, and well pleasing to God. But if this were too much to expect, or if it were more than the City could at present afford, he entreated them at least to make a beginning by repairing the parish churches; and this they might be the rather exhorted to do, since many of the churches had been, during the late reign, spoiled of their revenues, or had been permitted to fall into decay. He directed his speech to such citizens as had obtained the goods and lands of the Church into their hands. He asked for a gratuitous restoration of some portion of the property the Church had surrendered, for the repairs of the sacred edifices. He compared the person who had, in the late troubles, become possessed of Church property and refused to meet his request, to a child who refused, at his mother's request, to give a piece of an apple on which he was regaling to the injury of his health. In the mean time the father comes in, and in anger beats the child for his unkindness, and takes all of it away and throws it out of the window. This, as he applied it, might Christ, the Church's Husband, do if the petition of the Church were now rejected. On the subject of almsdeeds, he pointed to Italy as an example, and saying there was more given in two cities in Italy to monasteries and poor folks in one month, than in this realm in one whole year. As another act of penance, he called upon them to show respect and honour to the priesthood, since of all schismatical nations, he had never heard of one which had surpassed England in contempt of clergy in the

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late troublous times. He only, however, required them to give to the clergy what God, from whom all good things came, reserved to Himself, the tithes of all kinds; which when they denied to the priest, they denied to give unto God his due. Another worthy fruit of their penance would be their discovering of heretics; 'for there could not be a greater work of cruelty,' he said, 'against the commonweal, than to nourish and favour any such: none so pernicious to the commonweal, no thieves, murderers, adulterers, and no kind of treason, to be compared to theirs.' And as for those holy men that now for three years had been consigned to the stake, he styled them a multitude of brambles and briars cast into the fire.* Then, to flatter the citizens, he ran out into the praises of Sir Thomas More, a citizen born, who parted with his life to maintain the pope's authority; and added to him much speech of Bishop Fisher, and of the monks that sacrificed their lives to the pope's cause. He proceeded to urge parents and masters to reduce the younger sort to the old religion, which sort was generally bent to heresy; which appeared in that, when any heretic went to execution, he wanted not encouragement to die in his opinion; and while in prison, so much cherishing. He went on to exhort them earnestly to the observance of the ceremonies, because honest men could not live without ceremonies, and because in the observance of them began the very education of the children of God, for the law showed that they were the pedagogues to Christ. The heretics made this the first part of schism and heresy to

* It is remarkable how extremes meet—the Papists speak disparagingly of the noble men who died for their religion, while it is the custom now, not only to eulogize the sufferers indiscriminately, but to call them our *Protestant Forefathers*; but at the time when they were suffering, the Protestants of the day, the Lutherans, called them "the devil's martyrs."—Collier, vi. 175.

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destroy the unity of the Church by contempt or change of ceremonies, as God made it the beginning of his good education of his children the Jews. He maintained that the observance of ceremonies gave more light than all the reading of Scripture, whereto the heretics did so cleave, could do, had the reader never so good a wit to understand what he read, and though he put as much diligence in reading as he could, with the contempt of ceremonies. He insisted that those persons were most apt to receive light, who were more obedient to follow ceremonies than to read; that many fell into heresy by thinking no better way to come to the knowledge of God and his laws, than by reading of books; wherein, he said, they were sore deceived, and that the principal way to come to the light of the knowledge of God and his ways, was not gotten by reading, but by taking away the impediment of that light, and they be our sins, which were taken away by the sacrament of penance. Lastly, he renewed his exhortation to almsgiving, that is, to that sort of alms that consisted in building monasteries, by again referring to Italy. In Venice he said there were above threescore monasteries, and in Florence above fourscore; and the most part founded by the voluntary alms of the citizens. This statement was a mighty reproach to the city of London, where there did not exist ten religious houses, whether hospitals or monasteries, within the city or about it.”*

Pole had anticipated the pleasure of seeing the new Abbot of Westminster and the new Lord Prior of St. John

* The speech is given at length in No. lxviii. of the appendix to Strype's Memorials. I have adopted Strype's abbreviation of it. When a writer undertakes to abbreviate and give the substance of a speech or document, it is evident how easily he may give, by a few touches of the pen, an incorrect impression of the whole. I take Strype's report, because he was certainly no defender of Pole. I have corrected a few of the most uncouth expressions.

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of Jerusalem take their seats in the House of Lords ; but all joy was damped when the parliament actually assembled, for it met to discuss what was to be done after the disgrace which the country had suffered by the loss of Calais. The loss was in point of fact a gain to the country, for, to maintain a few acres of French ground, the expenditure of money and of life had been great ; but to be able to command the means of access to the Continent, whether France were hostile or not, had been considered by statesmen as a matter of importance ; and the whole nation seemed, in each individual member of the community, to feel personally disgraced, by a defeat which was entirely to be attributed to the carelessness and inefficiency of the government. The place was taken by surprise. The council had been forewarned, but it had not armed ; and this national disgrace was all that was now required to make the unpopularity of the queen complete. Pole was mortified by the now altered conduct of the convocation, at one time so subservient. When he proposed some expedient to be adopted for the recovery of Calais, he was told that the measures he proposed were impracticable ; and he was more mortified still, when the convocation refused to concur in the proposals he suggested for adapting the new monasteries to the requirements of the age ; the convocation, consisting of seculars, evinced no desire to rehabilitate the monastic institute, or to restore their former opponents to power. He succeeded in obtaining a small subsidy, but it was accompanied by a petition to the queen for the removal of some inconveniences to which the clergy had been subjected. One of the grievances from which they prayed relief was remarkable ; it was to the effect that no parson, vicar, or curate might be *pressed to serve in war*. They complained of

the abolition of pluralities, and petitioned that when two parishes were contiguous, they might both be served by one and the same incumbent. There was another petition, to the effect that the Ember weeks might no longer be regarded as the only times for ordination.

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From parliament and convocation Pole retired, convinced that another reaction had commenced, and that the tide was again flowing towards the Gospellers; to this we are to attribute, in part, those severer measures to which we have before alluded as the disgrace of his latter days.

II. We will, however, defer our observations on the close of his career. Our plan has been, in writing this biography, as much as possible to classify the subjects brought under consideration, without disregard to chronological order, but occasionally anticipating and sometimes postponing a notice of events which are best understood by being brought into juxtaposition. We have reserved, therefore, to this place, and for a separate section, what remains to be told of Pole's history, when we regard him as an author, and as an ecclesiastic directing his attention to his diocesan duties.

We have seen in the history of Cranmer, how the press was at this time beginning to be employed in the service of religion. Treatises were published containing statements of doctrine and forms of private devotion under the titles of Primers; and a Primer was published by Pole. The book is extremely scarce. It is not in Lord Lindsay's collection, though I have heard of it in some of our public libraries. At length I was informed that the Bishop of St. Andrews had inherited a copy from his father, Dr. Wordsworth, the late Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. With his accustomed readiness to render assistance to the cause of literature, the

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bishop placed the volume in my hands. Its character has been so greatly misrepresented, that I have thought it expedient to lay a minute analysis of the Primer before the reader. It is important to notice it, with some minuteness of detail, in a life of Pole, because from it we may gather what had become his opinions towards the close of life, or in what he thought it expedient for the interests of his party to put forward as such.

The Primer was intended for private devotion, and is in English, with occasionally the original Latin of the translated passages in the margin. It contains many prayers and translations of prayers and formularies with which we are familiar through the present "Use of England," the Book of Common Prayer. It is a work not satisfactory to the Anglican Christian of the present day, although there are some perhaps who would use it: to the modern Romanist of the ultramontane school it must be very unsatisfactory. The Anglican would regard as excessive the reverence shown towards the Virgin Mary; the Romanist would take offence because the Primer only goes as far as the *Ora pro nobis*. Pole held that, as the soul never dies, we may ask the prayers of our friend or patron, when his soul has departed from the flesh, with as much propriety as we may ask his prayers when he is still in the body. To this rationalistic mode of argument I know not whether any answer, on the same principle, can be returned. But the Anglican reformers had sufficient ground for renouncing the practice. The privilege of praying *for* one another as well as *with* one another, while we are in the flesh, is a privilege involved in mystery; we should not venture to pray for one another if we had not in Scripture an explicit permission and command upon the subject; but Scripture does *not* afford the slightest sanction to the exhortation

that we can be benefited by the prayers of those who have gone the way of all flesh. They may be praying for us, and many orthodox Christians believe that they *are* praying for us; but since nothing is recorded on the subject, the Anglican reformers would not permit us to ask for their prayers. They saw how rapid was the transition from *Ora pro nobis* to the direct offer of prayer, and how the direct offer of prayer to the creature tends to that idolatry which has become the besetting sin of the greater part of Christendom,—a fact foreseen by the inspired writers of the New Testament, whose warnings upon the subject are the more remarkable, as there was no tendency towards idolatry on the part of their contemporary converts.

1. The Primer commences with certain godly prayers for every day in the week. These prayers are not accompanied by the Latin in the margin. They are addressed to God only, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom also, as the second Person in the Godhead, prayer is offered. The prayers consist chiefly of a supplication for pardon and for grace, with thanksgivings for the protection vouchsafed in the night past. What strikes the reader in this part of the Primer is the distinct recognition of guardian angels who have the special custody each of individual Christians. We may, as a specimen of the fervour and devotion exhibited in these prayers, present the following to the reader:—

“Jesu, Jesu, Jesu Mercie; Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, grant me grace and mercye; Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, as I trust in thy mercye, have mercye upon me. Lord Jesus Christ, that hast kept, visited, and defended me, thy unworthy servante, thys night, and hast brought me safe and whole to thys hour, I thank Thee, therefore, and for all thy other benefites, which of thy only goodness Thou hast given me. Lord God, I commende thys day unto

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thy holy and blessed handes, and to the keeping of thy holy and blessed Angel, whom it shall please Thee to be my defender and keeper, my soul and body, my father and mother, my brethren and sisters, my friends and good doers, bodily and ghostly, quick and dead, special and general, and all true and faythful Christian people; kepe us, good Lord, by the merites of thy most holy and bitter passion, from all vices and foul desires, from sins and temptations of the fiende, from sodaine death, and from the paynes of hell; and lighten our hearts with the Holy Ghost, and with thy holy grace, and make us always to obey thy commandments, and suffer us never to be separated from Thee, the Saviour of the World, Christ Jesus, that livest and reignest with God the Father, in unity of the same Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen."

The morning prayers are followed by a general confession, to be used daily—long, minute, and in language of the deepest contrition.

2. These are followed by "Godly prayers of the Passion of our Saviour Christ." They contain praise to God for his mercy and goodness in sending his Son to suffer for mankind. The following passage in the first prayer is remarkable, describing the objects of our Lord's passion as "not only to *answer and satisfy thy just wrath and anger* which we have deserved both for the offences of our first parents, and yet daily do deserve by transgressing thy holy commandments, but also to restore us again to thy grace and favour, to endue us with thy heavenly *graces*, that we might serve Thee in righteousness and holiness all the days of our life, and finally to make us, by the free benefit of thy dearly beloved Son's passion and the price of his most precious blood, partners with Him of his *infinite glory* and bliss in Heaven." They also contain petitions that, whensoever it shall be God's pleasure "to lay his cross and affliction upon our backs," we may be able to bear it "as willingly and patiently" as Christ.

One prayer is addressed to Jesus Christ, beseeching Him that, as He consecrated "his blessed body and blood under the form of bread and wine, He would grant us ever stedfastly to believe and heartily to acknowledge in this most blessed sacrament his infinite and almighty power."

3. After the prayers on our Lord's Passion, follows the Athanasian Creed, described as "The symbole or crede of the great doctoure Athanasius daily red in the Church." The Latin is in the margin. We may here remark that "*immensus*" is translated, not "incomprehensible," but "without measure," in one verse, and "unmesurate" in another: again we have, "he therefore that will be saved *let him believe* thus of the Trinity,"—*qui vult salvus esse, ita de Trinitate sentiat*. The translation is in general that of Edward's Prayer Book.

4. The creed or symbol is followed by "The beginning of the Holy Gospel after Sanct. Johan i.—from commencement of chapter i. down to full of grace and verity."

This gospel is followed by the collect,—“O God, the protector of all that trust in Thee, without whom nothing is strong,”—as in the Prayer Book. Another lesson is taken from St. Luke, ch. i., giving an account of the Annunciation, without note or comment.

The next lesson is from the second chapter of St. Matt., containing the account of the visit of the Magi. Then follows St. Mark xvi., giving our Lord's parting charge to the apostles, and an account of his ascension.

This portion of the Primer concludes with the Lord's Prayer divided into seven petitions. The translation is not the one in vogue. It begins with—"Our Father which art in Heaven, sanctified be thy name." The fifth petition is worded thus: "And forgive us our offences, even as we forgive them that offend us."

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The salutation of the Angel Gabriel or the Ave follows :
“ Hail, Mary, full of grace, blessed be thou among women,
and blessed be the fruit of thy womb, Jesus Christ. Amen.”

To this succeeds the Apostles' Creed, followed by the Ten Commandments. The second commandment as given in Exodus xx. is omitted, and the tenth is divided :
9. “ Thou shalt not desire thy neighbour's wife ;” 10.
“ Thou shalt not desire the good of thy neighbour.” The use of the word good in the singular gives an equivocal appearance to the sentence.

This alteration in the arrangement of the commandments can, indeed, be justified on Scriptural ground ; but the fact seems to imply, on the part of those who adopt it, a consciousness of idolatry. Why omit the second commandment as it is found in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, unless there were some misgivings of conscience ? It does not appear, however, that Pole had any controversial end in view. The whole work is devotional, and the soul in devotion is too much excited to descend from the communion with God and the holy ones of God, to permit itself to be disturbed by the angry passions of quarrelsome mankind. This may be inferred from the fact that this portion of the Primer concludes with an address to God the Blessed Trinity.

5. It was impossible for Pole to avoid an act of devotion to the Virgin Mary, and we have therefore what he calls “ The Matyns of our Lady.” It certainly is creditable to the good taste and right feeling of Pole, that when treading on such delicate ground, he is so careful to avoid that worship of the Virgin which so shocks the Scriptural Christian in modern works of Romish devotion. In Pole's time, and before the Church of Rome was, by the Council of Trent, narrowed into a sect, greater reverence was manifested towards the Virgin Mary than

Protestants, with the example of Rome before them, can tolerate, but the *cultus* of the Virgin had certainly not become what in Romish countries we see it now to be.

The service commences with the *Ave*, and the psalmody begins with what we still use as the initiatory psalm—xcv. according to our numbering, xciv. according to the notation of Rome. At the end of each psalm, in this office, the *Ave* is repeated as well as the *Gloria Patri*. There is an English hymn in rhyme, irregular in metre, or rather without any attention at all to metre, in which thanksgivings are offered to the Lord Jesus Christ for condescending to be born of the Virgin Mary, in whose womb the Creator, immortal, did not disdain to take up his abode; and then the Virgin, so intimate with her Son, is supplicated to unite her prayers with ours, that we may obtain the blessings we seek. Beyond the *Ora pro nobis* I think the Primer does not go. The office concludes with the *Te Deum*, called “The Song of Austen and Ambrose,” except during the period between Septuagesima and Easter, when Psalm li. was appointed.

6. The *Lauds* commence with Psalm xcii., followed by the *Jubilate*, the *Deus Misereatur*, and “The Song of the Three Children,” concluding with the *Benedictus*. The translations vary little from those adopted in our Book of Common Prayer.

7. Certain collects are here given, intended to be additions to the service on Saints’ days. The object is to impress the mind with a full conviction of the communion of saints, whose intercessions in our behalf are sought. Thomas à Becket is not, of course, forgotten; but, considering the excitement caused by the desecration of his shrine, it speaks favourably of Pole’s moderation when we find only the collect, “O God, for whose Church’s sake Thomas, the glorious martyr and bishop, was slain with

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the sword of the wicked, grant, we beseech Thee, that all such as call upon his help may obtain the effect of their godly requisites, through Christ our Lord. Amen." He who was supposed to have helped the Church when he was in the flesh, was supposed to be still a fellow helper with all who laboured for the Church of Canterbury; and they who obeyed as he did when on earth, might, according to the notions of the age, receive, if asked for, the help of which they stood in need. The most offensive portion of the Primer occurs here, in a prayer addressed to Almighty God, that "the merits of thy Holy Mother and thy Holy Saints, whose merits are contained in the Universal Church, may defend us; so that by their prayers we may evermore rejoice in praising of Thee in tranquillity and peace, through Christ our Lord. Amen."

8. Then follow the *Hours*, commencing with the Matyns of the Cross. This office consists of a short hymn and a prayer to Christ our Lord,

"Who about midnight was perturbed and taken,
And of his Apostles anon forsaken."

"The first *Hour*, called *Prime*," begins with the *Creator Spiritus*, followed by Psalm ii., each concluding with the *Gloria Patri* and the *Ave*. Versicles and anthems succeed, praising our Lord for the condescension of his mercy. The same form is adopted throughout the office for the *Hours*, special reference being made to those actions in our Lord's life on which we are called to meditate.

9. *The Even-Song of our Lady*.—This is perhaps the most objectionable portion of the Primer, viewed from the Protestant standpoint, because here there is a hymn directly addressed to the Virgin Mary; but when it is examined, it is found not to go further than a hymn published in the life of Keble, which, though open to cen-

sure, falls very far beneath the requirements of modern Romanism. I think that no one who impartially examines the Primer, will suppose that Pole went beyond the *Ora pro nobis*; and until the termination of the Council of Trent, more than this was required of no one, although many had already anticipated the decision of the council and paid to the Virgin the honours due only to God. We must bear in mind, that Pole was making an attempt, which, though often made, is seldom successful, to bring together the moderate men on both sides. He was too much of a Papist for the Protestants; too much of a Protestant for the Papists. By the Protestants he was rejected, and by the Papists he was himself persecuted. And in accounting for the fact of his becoming a persecutor of Protestants, we must add to the fact that he wished, by an appearance of zeal on the papal side, to silence his enemies at Rome who accused him of being a heretic and the *fautor* of heresy, a certain amount of exasperation at the rejection, on the part of the Protestants, of all the conciliatory measures by which he hoped to silence if not to win them.

10. But to return to the Primer. *The Even-Song of our Lady* is followed by fifteen prayers of St. Brygyde. To those who take a favourable view of Pole's theology, it may appear that these prayers were inserted for the purpose of counteracting any extreme views which the preceding office might have a tendency to encourage. The prayers are addressed to the Lord Jesus Christ. They dwell on the several particulars of his Passion, and entreat Him to have mercy on those for whom He suffered so much. We may notice here a remarkable passage in Prayer vi.:—"O Jesus, have mind of that sorrow that Thou haddest when Thou beheldest, in the mirror of thy most clear majesty, the predestination of all thy chosen souls that

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should be saved by the merit of thy passion." The idea occurs in St. Augustine.

11. The seven penitential psalms.

12. *The Litany*. — The prayer is addressed to the Holy Trinity. An invocation follows to numerous saints to "pray for us." With this exception, the Litany is nearly the same as that which is retained in the Book of Common Prayer.

The Suffrages for remission of sins are served up with a collect such as ours: "tied and bound with the chain of our sins;" *for the Church* by the collect, "who alone workest great marvels;" *for charity; for peace; for mercy; for the souls departed; for the king and queen; for all estates of men*, "to loose the bonds of all our sins, and through the prayer of the blessed and glorious maid, Mary, Mother of God, with all the Saints, keep us," &c.; for true repentance.

13. *The Verses of St. Bernard*, consisting of several verses from the Psalms, followed by short prayers to Christ, and the *Ave*.

14. *The Even-Song and Matyns for the Dead—or Dirige*.—Longest services in the book.

Psalm: "I am well pleased that the Lord hath heard," &c.

Anthems: "I shall please our Lord in the region of livers," and "Woe is me."

Psalms: "When I was in trouble I called upon the Lord, and He heard me," &c. "I will lift up mine eyes," &c.

Anthem: "Our Lord keepeth thee from all evil: He keepeth even thy soul."

Psalm: "Out of the deep."

Anthem: "If Thou, Lord, wilt be extreme."

Psalm: "I will magnify Thee, O Lord, with my whole heart," &c.

Anthem: "Lord, despise not the works of thine hands."

Versicle: From the gates of hell.

Answer: Lord, deliver these souls.

The Magnificat.

Anthem: "I heard a voice from heaven, saying," &c.

Kyrie Eleison: "Our father. Hail! Mary."

Psalm: "Praise the Lord, O my soul; as long as I live," &c.

Versicle: From the gates of hell.

Answer: Lord, deliver their souls.

Collects:—

α. "O God, whose nature and property," &c. "Grant unto the soul of thy servant a place of rest," &c.

β. "O God, who hast caused thy servants in pontifical dignity to be accounted among the priests apostolic, grant, we beseech Thee, that they may enjoy in heaven the continual company of Thee, whose office they did bear sometime here in earth."

γ. "O God, the grantor of pardon and the lover of man's salvation, we beseech thy mercy that Thou wilt suffer the congregations of our brothers and sisters, being departed out of this world, through the intercession of blessed Mary the Virgin, and St. Michael the Archangel, and all holy Saints, to come to the congregation of everlasting felicity."

δ. "O God, grant unto the souls of all true believers, being dead, remission of all their sins, that through devout prayers they may attain thy gracious pardon," &c.

Matyns for the Dead.

Anthem: "Dirige, Domine."

Psalm v.: "Ponder my words, O Lord: consider my meditation."

Anthem: "Dirige, Domine."

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Psalms: "Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger," &c.
 "O Lord, my God, in Thee have I put my trust."

Anthem: "Lest at any time he devour my soul like a lion."

Versicle: From the gates of hell.

Answer: Deliver their souls.

1st Lesson.—A rhyming paraphrase of portions of the *Psalms*: "Spare me, O Lord; my days be brief and short."

Answer and Versicle.—Rhyming paraphrase of "I know that my Redeemer liveth," &c.

2nd Lesson.—A prayer for mercy in rhyme.

Versicle and Answer.—Prayers for rest to the dead.

3rd Lesson.—Rhyming paraphrase of the *Psalm*, "Thy hands have made me and fashioned me," &c.

Answer and Versicle.—Prayer for mercy in day of judgment.

Psalms: "The Lord is my shepherd," &c. "Unto Thee, O Lord, have I lift up my soul," &c. "The Lord is my light and my salvation," &c.

4th Lesson (Answer and Versicle).—Confession of sin, and petition for mercy in rhyme.

5th Lesson (Answer and Versicle).—Description in rhyme of man's frail and fleeting nature. Petition for mercy.

6th Lesson (Answer and Versicle).—Declaration in rhyme of readiness to obey God's summons to another world, and of trust in his mercy.

Psalms: "I waited patiently for the Lord," &c. "Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy," &c. "Like as the hart desireth the water brooks," &c.

(Short anthem, versicle, and answer.)

7th Lesson (Answer and Versicle).—Description in rhyme of the misery, helplessness, and hopelessness of man without God. Trust in Him for redemption and future happiness.

8th Lesson (*Answer and Versicle*).—Rhyming paraphrase from parts of Job. Prayers for rest to the dead.

9th Lesson (*Answer and Versicles*).—Description in rhyme of the weakness and shortness of man's life. Petition for mercy and aid especially in the day of judgment.

Psalms (li.): "Have mercy upon me, O Lord." "O praise the Lord, that dwellest in Sion," &c. "O God, thou art my God; early," &c.

Deus misereatur.

The song of Hezekiah: "I said in the cutting off of my days," &c.

The last three Psalms of Prayer Book.

The *Benedictus*.

Anthem: "I am the resurrection," &c.

Kyrie Eleison.

Psalm: "I will magnify Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast set me up."

Concluding Collects.—"O God, who by the mouth of St. Paul thine apostle hast taught us not to be sorry for them that sleep in Christ, grant, we beseech, that in the coming of thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, we, with all other faithful people being departed, may be graciously brought unto joys everlasting," &c. Other prayers for the happiness of departed souls.

15. *Commendations of the Souls.*

Psalm cxix.: "Lord, Thou hast searched me out, and known me," &c.

Versicle: Lord, give them everlasting rest.

Answer: And let continual light shine unto them.

Versicle: Lord, deliver their souls.

Answer: From the gates of hell.

Versicle: I trust to the goodness of the Lord.

Answer: In the land of the living.

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Prayer commendatory of souls to God, and that their sins may be washed away by the "forgiveness of thy most merciful pity." God have mercy on all Christian souls. Amen.

16. *The Psalms of Christ's Passion.*

(α.) "O God, my God, look upon me," &c.

(β.) "The Lord is my shepherd," &c.

(γ.) "The earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is," &c.

(δ.) "Unto Thee, O Lord, have I lift up my soul," &c.

(ε.) "Judge me, O Lord," &c.

(ζ.) "The Lord is my light and my salvation," &c.

(η.) "Unto Thee will I cry, O Lord; think no scorn of me," &c.

(θ.) "I will magnify Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast set me up," &c.

(ι.) "In Thee, O Lord, have I put my trust, let me not be confounded," &c.

Anthem: "Christ was made obedient unto death, even unto the death of the cross."

Versicle: Holy Mother of God, pray to thy Son.

Answer: That we may be enabled to his promission.

Versicle: Greatly to be praised is John the Evangelist.

Answer: Which leaned on the breast of Jesu Christ.

Prayers (α.): Regard, we beseech Thee, Lord, this thy household, for the which our Lord Jesus Christ hath not doubted to be delivered into the hands of evil-doers, and to suffer the pain of the cross.

(β.) Lord Jesu Christ, we beseech Thee of thy goodness to accept the intercession of the glorious Virgin Mary, thy most blessed mother, both now and at the hour of death; whose most blessed heart the sword of sorrow did pierce at the time of thy passion.

Prayer (α.): That the intercession of St. John may be available both now and at the hour of death.

(β.) That the glorious passion of our Lord Jesus Christ may deliver from sorrow and heaviness, &c.

(γ.) “To the Holy and Indivisible Trinity, to the humanity of Jesus Christ crucified, and to the glorious Virgin Mary, glory infinite be given of every creature, world without end.”

(δ.) Salutation of Christ; praise to Him on account of his Passion.

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17. *Godly Prayers.*

(α.) Prayer called *Ave Rex*.—Hail! Heavenly King—unto Thee do we cry which are the banished children of Eva—cast upon us those eyes of thine; and after this our banishment, show unto us the glorious light in thy heavenly kingdom.

(β.) That Christ, who dejected Himself to the shape of our vile servitude to reconcile us, the children of wrath, unto his Father, and so make us the children of grace, would give us grace to follow him, &c.

“*Devout prayers to our Saviour Christ*” for divers graces, and protection from divers sins.

Commendations of thoughts, speech, sight, hearing, mouth, heart, hands, to the keeping and direction of Jesus Christ.

The majority of these prayers are addressed to Jesus Christ in language of the deepest humiliation, and the most rapturous devotion.

The merits of his Passion are especially and repeatedly dwelt upon,* as the only means of pardon, in language

* So especially in “the Thanksgiving unto God for all his benefits,” beginning (l. 7 from top of page) “We thank Thee also, O most gentill Father, &c.,” down to “maketh intercession for us *being one alone mediator and advocate.*”

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quite doctrinal in precision ; *e. g.* “ Of sins and evil works, alas ! I see a great heap, but through thy mercy I trust to be in the number of those to whom Thou wilt not impute their sins, but take and accept me for righteous and just,” &c. Again, “ Let thy blood cleanse me and wash away the spots and foulness of my sins.”

“ *Let thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness*, the merits of thy passion and blood the satisfaction for my sins and offences.” [“ Five godly necessary prayers to be said most specially at the hour of death.”]

In the prayer “ that we may have the fear of God before our eyes in all our doings,” the contrast is drawn, in curious but forcible language, between the mercy of God as displayed in the Gospel, and his severity in the requirements of his moral law.

In the “devout prayer to be daily said” occurs the following (bottom of 1st page), “ Give us, we beseech Thee, O Heavenly Father, that heavenly bread the body of thy Son Jesus Christ, the very food and health of our souls ; give us the bread of thy divine precepts ; give us the bread of thy heavenly word,” &c.

One is entitled, “ A prayer of the seven words that our Lord spake hanging on the cross.” A short kind of meditation and petition is based upon each saying.

Note especially, “ Also thou saidst, ‘ I thirst,’ as who saith ‘ I desire the health of holy souls the which are in Lymbo byding my coming.’ ”

The prayers to be said “ before and after the receiving of the Sacrament” seem not to contain any expressions which might not be used by us.

In none of these godly prayers is there any invocation of the Virgin or Saints.

But the form of confession (end of book) begins with an acknowledgment of guilt to Almighty God, to our Lady St. Mary, and to all the company in heaven, &c.

Then follows an enumeration of the several heads under which the sinner confesses himself guilty, amongst which is to be found the Seven Sacraments.

"I have not given thanks to our Lord for the seven sacraments," &c.

At the end: "And I pray *for my ghostly Father* to be between my sin and me, that God of his mercy forgive me for this lowly confession," &c.

I have given this analysis at considerable length for reasons already stated. It is certainly not so protestant in its character as has been supposed by many who have not read it, but it will bear comparison with the primers produced in the reign of Henry VIII. The works on either side were drawn up in a conciliatory spirit.

We will proceed now to the analysis of another work of Pole's, or a work drawn up under his direction. Having determined to retire from political life, he made preparation for a diocesan, not a primatial visitation, and with this object he issued certain articles of inquiry. I shall present them to the reader with a very slight observation. Like the Primer, they are of importance to the student of history, as indicating the condition of the Church at the time of their issue.

The articles were arranged under two heads; the first twenty-one relate to the clergy, the next thirty-three to the laity.

Touching the Clergy.

1. Whether the divine service in the church, at times, days, or hours, be observed and kept duly, or no?

2. Whether the parsons, vicars, or curates do comely and decently, in their manners and doings, behave themselves, or no?

3. Whether they do reverently and duly minister the sacraments or sacramentals, or no?

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4. Whether any of the parishioners do die without ministration of the sacraments, through the negligence of their curates, or no ?

5. Whether the said parsons, vicars, or curates do haunt taverns or alehouses, increasing thereby infamy, slander, or no ?

6. Whether they be diligent in teaching the midwives how to christen children in time of necessity, according to the canons of the Church, or no ?

7. Whether they see that the font be comely kept, and have holy water always ready for children to be christened ?

8. If they do keep all the names of them that be reconciled to the duty of the Church ?

9. Whether there be any priests that take unlawfully bad women under pretended marriage, and hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwelling places ?

10. Whether they do diligently teach their parishioners the Articles of the Faith and the Ten Commandments ?

11. Whether they do decently observe those things that do concern the service of the Church, and all those things that tend to a good and Christian life, according to the canons of the Church ?

12. Whether they do devoutly in their prayers pray for the prosperous estate of the king and queen's majesties ?

13. Whether the said parsons and vicars do sufficiently repair their chancels, rectories, and vicarages, and do keep and maintain them sufficiently repaired and amended ?

14. Whether any of them do preach or teach any erroneous doctrine contrary to the Catholic faith and unity of the Church ?

15. Whether any of them do say the divine service, or

do minister the sacraments in the English tongue, contrary to the usual order of the Church ?

16. Whether any of them do suspiciously keep any women in their houses, or do keep company with men suspected of heresies or of evil opinions ?

17. Whether any of them that were, under pretence of lawful matrimony, married and now reconciled, do privily resort to their pretended wives, or that the said women do privily resort unto them ?

18. Whether they go decently apparelled, as it becometh sad, sober, and discreet ministers ; and whether they have their crowns and beards shaven ?

19. Whether any of them do use any unlawful games, as dice, cards, and otherwise, whereby they grow to slander and evil report ?

20. Whether they do keep residence and hospitality upon their benefices, and do make charitable contributions, according to all the laws ecclesiastical ?

21. Whether they do keep the book or register of christenings, buryings, and marriages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers ?

Touching the Lay People.

1. Whether any manner of person, of what state, degree, or condition soever he be, do hold, maintain, or affirm any heresies, errors, or erroneous opinions, contrary to the laws ecclesiastical and the unity of the Catholic Church ?

2. Whether any person do hold, affirm, or say, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is not contained the real and substantial presence of Christ ; or that by any manner of means do contemn and despise the said blessed sacrament, or do refuse to do reverence or worship thereunto ?

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3. Whether they do contemn or despise by any manner of means any other of the sacraments, rites, or ceremonies of the Church, or do refuse or deny auricular confession?

4. Whether any do absent or refrain without urgent and lawful impediment to come to the church, and reverently to hear divine service on Sundays and holidays?

5. Whether, being in the church, they do not apply themselves to hear divine service, and to be contemplative in holy prayers, and not to walk, jangle, or talk in time of the divine service?

6. Whether any be fornicators, adulterers, or do commit incest, or be bawds and receivers of evil persons, or be vehemently suspected of any of them?

7. Whether any do blaspheme and take the name of God in vain, or be common swearers?

8. Item, whether any be perjured, or have committed simony or usury, or do still remain in the same?

9. Whether the churches and churchyards be well and honestly repaired and enclosed?

10. Whether the churches be sufficiently garnished and adorned with all ornaments and books necessary; and whether they have a rood in their church, of a decent stature, with Mary and John, and an image of the patron of the same church?

11. Whether any do withhold or doth draw from the church any manner of money or goods, or that do withhold their due and accustomed tithes from their parsons and vicars?

12. Whether any be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of evil living, or do exercise any lewd pastimes, especially in the time of divine service?

13. If there be any that do practise or exercise any arts of magic or necromancy, or do use or practise any incantations, sorceries, or witchcraft, or be vehemently suspected thereof?

14. Whether any be married in the degrees of affinity or consanguinity prohibited by the laws of Holy Church, or that do marry, the banns not asked, or do make any privy contracts?

15. Whether in the time of Easter last any were not confessed, or did not receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, or did unreverently behave themselves in the receiving thereof?

16. Whether any do keep any secret conventicles, preaching lectures, or reading in matters of religion, contrary to the law?

17. Whether any do now not duly keep the fasting and embring days?

18. Whether the altars of the church be consecrated, or no?

19. Whether the sacrament be carried devoutly to them that fall sick, with light and with a little sacring bell?

20. Whether the common schools be well kept, and that the schoolmasters be diligent in teaching, and be also catholic and men of good and upright judgment, and that be examined and approved by the ordinary?

21. Whether any take upon them to minister the goods of those that be dead without authority from the ordinary?

22. Whether the people in every parish be charitably provided for?

23. Whether they do burn a lamp or a candle before the sacrament? and if they do not, that then it be provided for with expedition.

24. Whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in convenient time?

25. Whether any do keep, or have in their custody, any erroneous or unlawful books?

26. Whether any do withhold any money or goods

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bequeathed to the mending of the highways, or any other charitable deed?

27. Whether any have put away their wives, or any wives do withdraw themselves from their husbands, being not lawfully divorced?

28. Whether any do violate or break the Sundays and holy days, doing their daily labours and exercises upon the same?

29. Whether the taverns or alehouses, upon the Sundays and holy days, in the time of mass, matins, and evening song, do keep open their doors, and do receive people into their houses to drink and eat, and thereby neglect their duties in coming to church?

30. Whether any have or do deprave or condemn the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's holiness, or the see of Rome?

31. Whether any minstrels, or any other persons, do use to sing any songs against the holy sacrament, or any other rites and ceremonies of the Church?

32. Whether there be any hospitals within your parishes, and whether the foundations of them be duly and truly observed and kept, and whether the charitable contributions of the same be done accordingly?

33. Whether any goods, plate, jewels, or possessions be taken away or withdrawn from the said hospitals, and by whom?*

Pole has been accused of indolence. A confirmed invalid must often shrink from exertion, and Pole was apt to design more than he ever had energy to carry out. It is certainly much to his credit that, under the circumstances, he could plan a visitation at which such searching inquiries were to be made. He credited himself, probably, with greater physical strength than he really pos-

* Wilkins, iv. 169.

sessed. What he had done since his arrival in England must have appeared miraculous to himself and his companions. When he started on his journey homeward, he could scarcely bear the fatigue of a journey of two miles ; and what he performed when he arrived in England is sufficient to show what can be forced upon an infirm and decrepit body by a strong determination of the will. His friends in Italy, no doubt, had frequently told him that he was too careful of his health, and he was exhorted to exertion ; and his weakness was increased by the self-indulgent habits of invalidism. But, as is often the case, death comes at last to show, not that the invalid was fanciful, but only that his physician had not discovered what his ailments really were. Pole roused himself to action on his coming to England ; but his exertions were like the convulsions of a death-stricken man.

He was never to reach Canterbury ; he was not, like Wolsey, to show what a bishop he would have made, if he had confined his energies to his diocesan duties.

If what is called poetical justice is required, we find it in the miserable termination of Pole's career.

A more pitiable object than Reginald Pole at the end of an eventful life has seldom been presented to the contemplation of the human mind ; it would seem that, having been carried to a high pinnacle in the Temple, his exaltation was exhibited to an astonished world, in order that his precipitation to the lowest depths of misery might be the more conspicuous. All nature appeared to have conspired against him. That Pole was animated by patriotic feelings is apparent from his whole career. He did, indeed, endeavour to excite the emperor to make war upon Henry VIII., but, whether right or wrong, he was prompted by a patriotic wish to save his country from a cruel despotism. Stephen Langton and the barons who

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won for us Magna Charter armed the country, and made a foreign alliance, because patriotism or loyalty to their country was, in their minds, a virtue superior to that of loyalty regarded as only a personal attachment to the king. In modern times it is in a war of words that we make war on the sovereign when he, through his ministers, makes aggression upon our rights and liberties; in former times, the battle of freedom had sometimes to be fought sword in hand.

In making these observations, I repeat what, with reference to another matter, I have said before, that I am not defending a system, but explaining it, with a view not of vindicating the conduct of those who acted under it, but of understanding their precise position.

If we are permitted to regard Reginald Pole as a man under the influence of patriotic feelings, we are enabled to appreciate in some measure the misery he must have endured in contemplating the condition of his country in 1558; while here his conscience must have reproached him, for not having sooner discovered his utter incompetence to undertake the management of affairs. He was in the habit of piously regarding external circumstances as providential arrangements, indicating, on the part of the Sovereign Ruler of all things, the approbation or the condemnation of what his servants had done or were doing. His own condemnation was now pronounced by all that he saw and heard around him. The condition of the country was indeed deplorable. A contagious fever, more destructive than any former plague or pestilence, was depopulating the land. The destruction among the clergy—it must be said to their honour—was especially great, and was occasioned by their having to place the ear close to the mouth of the dying, in order that they might receive their last confession. Prelate and priest, physician and patient,

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fared alike, and the palace was not more exempt from the insidious entry of the disease than the cottage: two of the medical attendants upon the queen were among the dying, and nearly half the bishoprics in England were vacant by the death of the diocesans. The evil was, in part, to be traced to the extraordinary state of the weather. Reports came rapidly to Lambeth that churches as well as houses, in some of the chief towns, had been swept away by the tempest, the force of which is described as so great that, even when the fabric braved the onset, the sheets of lead which covered the roof were blown into the fields, "writhen like a pair of gloves;" stout men struggling with the blast were laid prostrate, and children were dashed to death. In some parts of the country the rivers overflowed and desolated the surrounding neighbourhood, while in other places they left their wonted channels.* In most cases a pestilence has succeeded a famine; in this instance famine was the result and not the cause. When the storm had passed, and the crops were ready, they were left to rot on the ground, for labourers were not to be found to gather in the harvest; and among the few who crawled into the fields, the majority returned to their homes, which they never again left alive.

There was ill-blood between the rich and the poor, and the country was almost in a state of anarchy. In their dread lest English money should be diverted to the service of Spain, both parliament and convocation were niggardly in their grants; and the members of the council, to whom it was known, that it was through Spanish

* In March, 1558, Machyn says, "The river was so low an ebb that men might stand in the middle of the Thames, and might have gone from the bridge to Billingsgate, for the tide did not keep its course, the which was never seen before that time."—Machyn, p. 468.

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gold that the English court was sustained, were not sufficiently loyal to the queen to disabuse the public mind on a subject which was daily rendering her more unpopular. There was no money to maintain even the semblance of a police, and there was inability and want of will to compel the parochial authorities to perform their duty; the roads were out of repair, and weary travellers had to swim or ford the rivers, the bridges over which had fallen into ruin. Not even a nobleman could travel without a troop of servants, all in harness. The highwaymen penetrated the streets, and London was patrolled nightly by volunteer constables, who sometimes regained the treasure stolen by the robber, but themselves employed it as a remuneration for their gratuitous services.

Looking abroad, the Channel swarmed with pirates; the Scots were invading England from the north, and, instead of preparing for resistance, the report was that the English, in those parts of the country which the pestilence had not reached, were making ready for insurrection. Where party feeling ran high we must make allowance for the exaggerations of a partisan, but, with all due allowance, the following picture, drawn by a contemporary, was, in all its prominent features, strictly true:—

“I do assure you, for my part, I never saw, nor, I think, if I should have lived this five hundred years heretofore past, I should not have seen at any time England weaker in strength, men, money, and riches, than it was in the time when we wrote King Philip and Queen Mary, king and queen of so many kingdoms, dukedoms, marchionates, and countries, &c. For all those jolly titles, our hearts, our joy, our comfort was gone. As much affectionate as you note me to be to my country and countrymen, I assure you I was then ashamed of both. They went to the musters with kerchiefs on their heads. They went to the wars hanging down their looks. They came from

thence as men dismayed and forlorn. They went about their matters as men amazed, that wist not where to begin or end. And what marvel was it? Here was nothing but fining, heading, hanging, quartering and burning, taxing, levying, and pulling down of bulwarks at home, and beggaring and losing our strongholds abroad.”*

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Sad as the contemplation of this state of public affairs would have been at any time or under any circumstances, Pole was painfully aware, that in the mind of his countrymen he was, to a great extent, held responsible for them. The privy council averted the blame from themselves by insinuating that their advice was frustrated by the secret influence of Pole; and that the queen was entirely under his government was the opinion generally entertained, not in England only, but at Rome. We have traced to this source, to a certain extent, the hostility displayed towards Pole on the part of Paul IV.

That Pole expected to be the director of the queen's conscience or conduct on his first coming to England there can be little doubt; but he soon found that where professions of deference are loudest, the practice does not conform to the theory. Mary was a woman of feeble intellect and of violent passions, selfish and implacable, headstrong and impelled to action, not by reason, but by her feelings. She desired to be armed with the powers of a despot, but did not understand that, to achieve despotism in great things, there must be constant sacrifices of the conscience and of the soft wishes of domestic life. She quarrelled with her husband, because she could not understand how the duties to be performed by the sovereign

* Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith, p. 249. See also Heylin, Stow, Noailles, xi. 1020, and Micheles, to the Doge of Venice.

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of three great kingdoms rendered it necessary for him to forego or to shrink from the tendernesses of an impassioned wife. She expected sacrifices, but made none.

Noailles remarks on the disagreement of the council when Gardynner was removed. Gardynner could manage them, Pole could not. He says—"Most of them are suspected. A large part is thought to be inclined to have some secret intelligence with Madame Elizabeth. She has told Pole, that there is now no one in her council in whom she has perfect confidence but himself."*

Micheles, who is not to be depended upon, but who gives the gossip of the day, says—"On the shoulders of this man now rests the whole weight of the government of this realm, both with regard to secular and spiritual affairs. He is a man of great learning and goodness of heart. His opinion is of such authority with the queen, that by a mere sign with his hand he could remove any person from the situation he holds, or bring him to punishment; whence he is envied and hated by the principal ministers. With all this, he uses his power with great discretion and humility; he abstains from interfering with anything not particularly committed to his charge, setting thereby an example to Englishmen who, on coming into office and power, are but too much given to meddle with things that do not concern them, and too desirous of appearing more than they really are; whence, right or wrong, they will stubbornly persevere in the measures they have once taken in the management of affairs. The cardinal confers on every subject with Monsignor Prioli, who makes use of none but Italians for his confidential servants."†

The religion even of Mary was a selfish calculation

* Sharon Turner, viii. 490.

† Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd series, vol. ii.

how she was to obtain a high position in the world to come, and be developed into a saint. When she imagined that this was to be effected more easily than by pilgrimages and penances, through the persecution of heretics, the bowels of compassion were closed within her, and without commiseration the warrant was signed for the execution of the reputed misbeliever. Her council found her obstinate beyond persuasion in the pursuance of impolitic ends; and when to her will at length they yielded, they found her full of scruples, as to the adoption of the means by which only the unrighteous ends should be accomplished. When they looked to Pole for help, they gradually discovered that Pole's mind was of that class, which can be furious when roused against an open enemy, but criminally weak in opposing the wishes of a friend.

The personal disappointment of Pole was greater still. That he cherished the hope of becoming the husband of the Queen of England until the eve of her marriage with Philip, cannot be doubted by any one who pays attention to the contemporary documents. But this was merely the speculation of a statesman—not the most sagacious; there is no reason to believe, that on either side there was any approach to passion; or that more than a brotherly and sisterly affection existed between them. She would constantly, in the gloom of her girlhood, think of the sympathy expressed in the handsome face of her cousin, when she was shrinking into herself, frozen by the marked neglect of courtiers when they were paying respect to the rising sun, between which and herself a dark cloud interposed. In after years, the imagination of Pole would dwell on the innocent child he had fondled, and on the young woman who had listened with admiration and respect to pedantic discourses of the student who, though old in

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comparison with Mary, was nevertheless young in heart and years. He remembered her, though small in stature, yet a young woman of good figure, delicate, and, as a courtier described her, "moderately pretty." She was short-sighted, but her eyes were expressive and bright : she was a fair musician ; and though he did not succeed in making her a proficient in the language he loved, she could understand Italian though she did not speak it ; and she spoke Latin, French, and Spanish as fluently as her own English.*

How changed were all things on Pole's return to England ! The queen welcomed him with a smile of sympathy and affection, but, instead of the "dulcet symphonies and voices sweet" which we expect to flow from female lips, he was greeted by a hoarse man's voice ; and although she was comparatively young,† the deep lines of age were beginning to tell in her face the life of anxiety and trouble she had passed—anxiety and trouble about to return with crushing vehemence.

There are some minds manifestly insane though they have no tendency to madness, if, to constitute madness, we suppose the existence of some delusion. The affinity is to idiocy. An idiot may sometimes show very considerable ability in some departments of mental exertion, but he may be so incompetent to exert any self-control, that he is, like a child, unreasonably excited by what is pleasurable for the moment, and immediately in a passion for some toy withheld ; violently resisting opposition or restraint, driven almost to desperation when circum-

* I take this description of Mary from Micheles' Memoir addressed to the Doge and Senate of Venice, a portion of which has been deciphered and translated by Sir H. Ellis.

† She was thirty-eight years of age.

stances arise which frustrate any design he has fondly cherished. Such was the character of Mary.

When first Pole arrived, he found Mary in a paroxysm of happiness, too violent to last. He soon found, that although Philip was as considerate and kind to his wife as a man who did not love her could be, he was a man of uncontrollable passion, without an attempt at self-discipline, and guilty of the grossest immoralities. It is probable that his infidelities were not made known to Mary; but she soon suspected them, until at last she could hardly entertain a doubt of the fact; and then her jealousy became, like every other passion on its excitement, almost an insanity. At one time, when her husband was absent, she would fly at his picture as it hung upon the wall and scratch it with her nails; at another time, on hearing of his illness on the Continent, her rage would be turned upon herself. On one occasion, by an act of selfish despotism, she forced an octogenarian physician to quit what he thought his death-bed and to proceed abroad, because she thought he only could administer to her husband's disease.* The description given of her conduct is precisely what we should expect. Noailles in writing to his master says:—

“I assure you, Sire, this princess always lives now in the two great extremities of anger and suspicion, being in a continual fury, that she can neither enjoy the presence of her husband nor the love of her people; and she is in a very great fear of her own life being attempted by some

* This is stated on the authority of Micheles. In contemporary statements allowance must be made for the exaggerations resulting from party feelings or misinformation, or from mere malignity, or from the pleasure of giving point to a piece of scandal; still there is a foundation of truth, and we have the same story told by more than the ambassador.

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of her household, as one of her chaplains had undertaken to kill her, though they wished not to make a great noise about it. See, Sire, what this rich heiress has gained—and I think this unhappiness must every hour increase, as I see no means by which she can be ever loved by her subjects. She will therefore be compelled to live in perpetual dread, and, on the other side, be so undervalued by a foreigner and her own husband as not to enjoy his presence long. The familiarity in which your majesty lives with your subjects makes all those who hear of it sigh. They are living now in such misery, that there is not one but who fears for his head either now or by-and-by. Admiral Howard drew me to a window, and said that our mode of living was very different from theirs, who could see neither their king nor their queen, but were languishing in continual fear and suspicion, so that he would rather be a poor gentleman in your kingdom than admiral where he was. These, Sire, are strange words from one of the greatest and most favoured in this society, and you may guess if the rest are more content. They see the approaching ruin of this kingdom, as indeed seems evident from the great division that is among them, and from the little love which the queen bears them, and from the great hatred of the subjects to the said lady.”

In another despatch the ambassador says :—

“Every day, both at court and elsewhere, many placards, letters, and other defamatory libels are scattered against her and the lords of her council ; so that she is in that spite and rage against her nation, that both to great and small she ever speaks in anger and with a *mauvaise visage*, blaming some for their ill-services, and others for the little fidelity and the crossing actions which they daily do against her will. She is also alarmed at the king’s

fleet being at sea, and has stopped her going to Hampton, fearing that the continuation of the report would cause those to rise who are on the eve of doing so."

Next day he wrote :—

"She does not cease to be in a continual and extreme displeasure against all her household, and is even discontented with her own husband for delaying so long. I am assured that of a night she is for some hours in such a reverie of her passions that very often she becomes beside herself (*elle se met hors de soy*). I think that the greatest cause of her grief comes from her vexation at seeing her person so fallen away, and her age so increasing in its effects upon her" (she was then thirty-eight). "The reports she hears of battles at sea give her such apprehensions and extreme fright, that every hour she alters her opinions, which occasions her to send you so many contrary advices."*

If Pole had an affection for any one—and he was certainly a man of feeling—it was for his cousin Mary; and sad of heart he must have been when, having suffered his imagination to revert to the time when from the infant seated on his mother's knee he tried to win a smile, he took up a paper, placed by malevolence on his desk, containing a caricature of the queen, withered and wrinkled, permitting the Spaniards to suck from her breasts the treasures of England.

We are not surprised that all these anxieties and cares should weigh down the feeble body of Reginald Pole to a grave prepared for one who, though only middle-aged, was old in constitution. Pole was attacked by a quartan ague, and was confined to his house. In looking back upon the past, and feeling how very uncertain the life

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of Queen Mary was, he thought of doing justice to "Madame Elizabeth." Mary's conduct to her sister, whom she could never be brought to love, was as uncertain and capricious as that of a spoilt child. It would not be too much to say, that Elizabeth owed her life to Philip, and to Pole who identified himself with Philip's policy. They dared not appear too openly in her favour, lest, by exciting the jealousy of Mary, in attempting to help her, they would have increased her danger. But hearing that the queen was nearly as ill as himself, Pole now sent some secret communication to the Lady Elizabeth through his chaplain, the Dean of Worcester. We possess the letter, a few lines, in which he requests the princess to give credit to the statements made by the dean; but what the statements were can never now be known.*

On his sick bed, Pole received intelligence of the death of the Emperor Charles V. Although the conduct of the emperor had not been always friendly, they had been so often in direct communication with one another that he spoke of his departure as that of a friend; whilst, at the same time, the death of the ex-emperor was a warning to the cardinal. It was with deeper and more sincere affliction that he heard that the queen's condition was hopeless. He had received frequent intelligence of her declining state, and frequent messages passed between them. His own illness increased; but his mind was clear, and he caused the Holy Scriptures and other books of devotion to be read to him. He was confined to his bed. He was in extreme danger. He confessed; he received the holy communion; extreme unction was administered to him.

After this he rallied, and was able to sit up. His

* The letter may be found among the Records. Collier, ix. 319.

friends began to entertain a faint hope that he might even yet recover. Meantime the queen died, and for a time his friends were able to keep the intelligence of her demise from the knowledge of Pole; but the fact was revealed to him through the inadvertence of one of his Italian dependants.

Pole, on hearing of the queen's death, remained silent for a considerable time. His friend Priuli and the Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Goldwell, were watching at his bedside; and presently he remarked to them, in the midst of so many and great causes as he had most grievously to lament her death, yet by God's grace he enjoyed a most efficacious remedy by turning to that haven of Divine Providence, which, throughout his existence, had ever calmed and consoled him under all public and private afflictions. He spoke with such vigour and alacrity that he moved his friends to tears. He continued the conversation, remarking on the parallel between his own life and that of the queen. He had sympathized with her in the sorrows of her early life; he had shared in the troubles and anxieties occasioned by her elevation to the throne: they were not to be separated by death. For a quarter of an hour he remained calm. Then another paroxysm came on. He ordered that the book containing the prayers said *in transitu* might be kept ready. He received the holy communion, and insisted on being brought before the altar, being supported by two of his attendants, as he would have been otherwise unable to stand. He bowed his head almost to the ground, and with many tears and sobs said the *Confiteor*. He was again free from pain; vespers were repeated as usual. It was two hours before sunset when he heard the *Compline*. The end he said was come. He remarked that it was time for the com-

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mentatory prayers to be offered. While they were offered he fell asleep: when he died his companions knew not; they only knew that from this sleep he did not, in this world, awake.*

The most exaggerated rumours had been circulated of the wealth of Pole. Queen Elizabeth caused a strict investigation to be made; and it was found that he had left little more than would cover his debts, and enable his executors to pay his legacies. It is probable that, like King Philip, he contributed from his own resources to support the extravagance of Mary, when it was difficult to collect the subsidies which parliament and convocation reluctantly voted.

It is interesting to find that an amicable controversy had taken place between the two friends, Priuli and Pole. The latter wished to leave all he possessed to the friend of his life; while Priuli, whose patrimony in Italy was sufficient to meet all his wants, determined to show that, in attaching himself to the fortunes of Reginald Pole, he was entirely disinterested, and was only influenced by his affection for one who, with all his faults, had the faculty of making friends, and of retaining their friendship when once it was formed. The investigations instituted by the government were painful to the feelings of Pole's friends, especially his Italian friends; but when it was ascertained that the report of his great wealth was without foundation, they were permitted to prepare for his obsequies. Priuli, after alluding to the painful process, concludes with saying: "We at length found ourselves free from these and

* The account of Pole's last illness and death I have given from a collation of three letters written by Priuli to three different friends, and preserved among the archives of Venice. The letters vary in details but agree in substance, the writer evidently dwelling upon the points which he thought would be most interesting to his correspondents.

similar suspicions equally false; and subsequently from her majesty and from her ministers we have experienced nought save all honour, favour, and courtesy."

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On the morning of the 18th of November, 1558, Reginald Pole breathed his last, having lived fifty-eight years and six months. He had survived Queen Mary two-and-twenty hours; he lived long enough to hear the cheers with which the accession of Queen Elizabeth was acclaimed; and the policy of his late mistress and her minister was in those joyful acclamations condemned.

He lay in state at Lambeth during forty days, masses being said for the repose of his soul. With much formal pomp, the corpse was conveyed to Canterbury, where it was met by a large concourse of the citizens and of the clergy. At his obsequies a discourse in his praise was delivered from the pulpit both in English and in Latin. According to his own desire he was buried in St. Thomas's Chapel. The place where was laid the body of the last of our primates whose head was honoured or disgraced by the red hat, or who had any connection with Rome, is denoted by these words: "*Depositum Cardinalis Poli.*"

The following are the Works of Reginald Pole.

Reginaldi Poli pro Ecclesiasticæ unitatis defensione (lib. iv.) ad Henricum Octavum Britannicæ Regem. Romæ, Bladus (circa 1536). Fol.

De Pace, senza nota (Roma, A. Blado). 4to.

Copia d' una Lettera d' Angleterra nella quale narra

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l' entrata del Card. Polo in Inghilterra per la conversione di quella Isola alla Fede Catholica. Milano, Dec. 24, 1554. 12mo.

Copia delle Lettere del Re d' Inghilterra et del R. Card. Polo sopra la Reduttione di quel Regno alla Unione della Santa Madre Chiesa et Obedienza della Sede Apostolica, 1554. 4to.

De Concilio liber. Eiusdem de Baptismo Constantini Magni Imperatoris. Reformatio Angliæ ex decretis Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis sedis Apostolicæ legati. Dilingæ excudebat S. Mayer, 1562. 8vo.

An uniforme and Catholyke Prymer in Latin and Englishe, with many godly and devout prayers, newly set forth by certayne of the cleargye, with the assente of the most reuerende father in God the Lorde Cardinall Pole hys grace: to be only used (al other sette aparte) of al the Kyng and Quenes Maiesties louinge subiettes througheoute all their realmes and dominions, according to the Quenes hyghnes letters patentes in that behalf geuen. Imprinted at London, by John Waylande, the iiii daye of June, A.D. 1555.

Apologia Reginaldi Poli ad Carolum V. Cæsarem. Super quatuor libris a se scriptis de Unitate ecclesiæ. Unitatis eccles. defensio ad Edwardum Henrici filium. De Summa Pontifice Christi in terris Vicario ejusque officio et Potestate liber. Lovanii Foulerum, 1569. 12mo.

A treatise of Justification founde among the writings of Cardinal Pole, &c. Lovanii, 1669. 4to.

De natali die Christi. Comment. in Esaiam. Comment. in Davidis hymnos. Catechismum Dialogum de passione Christi. De modo concionandi. Homelias tres. Statuta academix Cantabrigiencis, edita 15 Aug. 1557, cap. xv. MS. Coll. Corp. Chr. Cantabr. Miscell.

Card. Poli, et aliorum ad ipsum Epistolæ, &c., præm.

Animadversiones J. G. Schelhorni, ed. Card. Quirini
Brixia, 1744–57, 5 vols. 4to.

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Articles to be enquiryed in the ordinary visitation of his
grace wythin hys dioces of Canterbury in the yeare of
our Lorde God 1556. Canterbury, by Dom Michel (1556).
4to.

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